

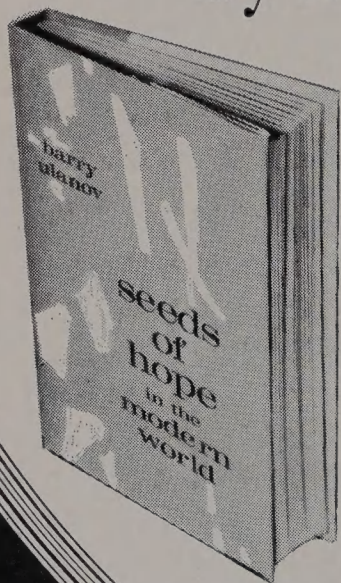


<i>Voice of Conscience</i>	2
<i>A Direction for the West</i>	4
<i>Atheism in Russia</i>	13
<i>Wake Up, Conservatives</i>	25
<i>Fallout Scare</i>	27
<i>Combating Communism</i>	28
<i>The Beatnik Revolution</i>	32
<i>Big Government</i>	41
<i>Toleration</i>	51
<i>Disunited Christians</i>	59

A book that shows how modern man
has gained a new understanding of
himself, of his world and of God, from
the work of artists and scientists

Seeds of Hope in the Modern World

By **BARRY ULANOV**



THIS provocative book tells how the opportunities for wonder and hope in our time have been immeasurably expanded by the achievements of individual poets, scholars, painters and scientists. The different views of the world unveiled by scientists are shown to increase both the subjects and objects of meditation, while the great modern artists bring us closer to life's inner realities. In the work of these men the author finds a respect for being, a reverence before mystery and an atmosphere of hope — and he explains how they have opened up whole new worlds of knowledge and love before us.

BARRY ULANOV, writer, editor and translator of many books in the fields of art, literature and religion, and an associate professor of English at Barnard College, is the president of the Catholic Renaissance Society.

\$4.95, now at your bookstore

P. J. KENEDY & SONS

Sixtieth Year
• *An America Press*
Publication



Editor
THURSTON N. DAVIS, S.J.

Executive Editor
VINCENT S. KEARNEY, S.J.

Managing Editor
WALTER G. NESBIT, S.J.

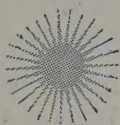
Associate Editors
DONALD R. CAMPION, S.J.
L. C. MC HUGH, S.J.
C. J. MC NASPY, S.J.
WILLIAM H. QUIERY, S.J.

Editorial Assistants
WILLIAM H. DODD
EILEEN TOBIN

Editorial Office
329 WEST 108 STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

General Manager
WILLIAM HOLUB

Business Office
920 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.



60 cents a copy
\$5.00 a year
\$9.00 for two years
\$12.00 for three years

APRIL, 1962
VOL. LX, NO. 1162

**ARTICLES
AND
ADDRESSES**

A Direction for the West
Barbara Ward 4

Atheism and the Working Class
A Communist Editorial 13

Catholic Undergraduates and the
Existential Revolt
Robert J. Kreyche 32

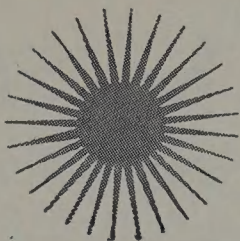
Big Government
Benjamin L. Masse, S.J. 41

Toleration and Conscience
Henry St. John, O.P. 51

DOCUMENTATION

The Responsibilities of Catholics With
Regard to Christian Disunity
Paul-Emile Cardinal Léger 59

CATHOLIC MIND is published monthly (except in July and August) by the America Press, 920 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y. Second class postage paid at Norwalk, Connecticut. Subscription rates: United States, \$5 for one year; \$9 for two years, \$12 for three years; Canada, \$5.50, \$10, \$13.50; Foreign, \$6, \$11, \$15. Single copies, 60¢. To change your address send both old and new addresses to the America Press, 920 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y. Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to Catholic Mind, O'Brien Press, 116 Main St., Norwalk, Conn.



■ *Amid the assassinations, the kidnappings and the bombings perpetrated by the ruthless band of ex-army officers who seek to terrorize both Frenchmen and Algerians alike, the Algerian war itself seems to have drifted out of perspective. When the conflict began in 1954, few Frenchmen dreamed that, almost eight years later, it would pose for them the harrowing question of conscience it poses today. Even for those deeply involved in the struggle, there must be something frightening about resort to cold-blooded, indiscriminate murder in order to resolve a political problem.*

■ *The violence abetted by the renegade Organisation de l'Armée Secrète is symptomatic of a disease that is deep-rooted in 20th-century society. In his recent Lenten pastoral, Maurice Cardinal Feltin, Archbishop of Paris, speaks of the Algerian crisis as a "crystallizing agent." For "it has brought to the surface in its full virulence a latent attitude widely fostered by many situations in our modern life, and of which there are many manifestations in the behavior of our contemporaries."*

■ *It is significant that Cardinal Feltin made his observations on Algeria in the broader context of a pastoral letter on human dignity. The Christian world, he points out, appears to have lost respect for the individual in many fields of human activity—in family life, in the field of medicine, but particularly in the political arena. "I want to call attention," he emphasized, "to the grievously inhuman reactions of people today engaged in ideological conflicts or political outrages. Men do not resist the temptation to do away with people who stand in the way of their goals."*

■ *What is worse, many French Catholics tend to excuse O.A.S. terrorism on the grounds that it is an inevitable consequence of an "exceptional situation." Yet terrorism, the prelate points out, is never inevitable. "Terrorism is absolutely inadmissible for a Christian. When those who use such methods pretend to do so in defense of Christian civilization, they pay no heed to the fact that they are destroying the very thing they seek to save. Can a civilization rightfully claim to be Christian when it sets such store by violence, and when such disregard for man prevails?"*

■ *Thus a prominent member of the French hierarchy has spoken out on Algeria. Will his admonition induce a return to common sense on the part of O.A.S. extremists? Perhaps not.*

Perhaps the O.A.S. has committed itself too deeply to its policy of terrorism to turn back at this stage even at the voice of the Christian conscience.

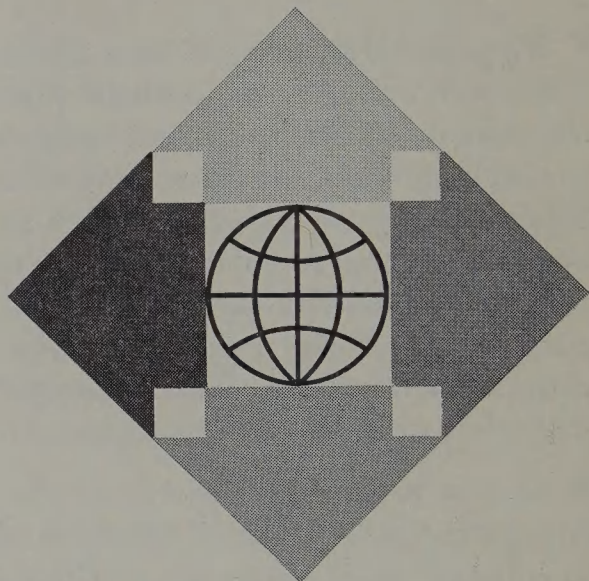
■ *But what Cardinal Feltin has said of the need for a return to fundamental Christian values is of the utmost importance to the whole Christian world. How many of our own problems at home—the racial problem, for example—would yield to reason if only we would practice Christian teaching concerning the value and worth of the human person! How intensely are we concerned with the intrinsic dignity of the human person in dealing with the emerging nations of Asia and Africa? And what of poverty-ridden Latin America? In a very real sense, we, just as the O.A.S. in Algeria and France, hold the fate of Christian civilization in our hands.*

The Editors, CATHOLIC MIND

The fundamental question is whether we in the West are able to confront the challenge of our times. And here we face an agonizing difficulty. For some of the creative responses which we must make run deeply against the grain of our traditional thinking.

A DIRECTION FOR THE WEST

BARBARA WARD



“If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do and how to do it.” The words are Abraham Lincoln’s, but the dilemma is our own. Over the last decade, we in the Western world have become more and more aware of being under steady, undermining attack. We have felt our institutions threatened, our aims thwarted, our pretensions mocked. After 300 years of world-wide dominance, nothing in our experience prepares us for this sense of insecurity; our temptation is to lash out at it blindly and angrily. But there is no safety in

such reactions. We must know “where we are and whither we are tending.” Otherwise, we shall fight against symptoms, not causes, and battle with shadows, whereas our real struggle is with the angel of history itself.

The point can be quickly illustrated. Just over a hundred years ago, Western power in the Far East began to seem virtually irresistible. The Western merchants with their new goods and vessels, the Western soldiers with their new weapons, moved inexorably in. It was the first rising, in the China Sea, of the great tide of modern science and technology. In China, the Westerners were dismissed as “barbarians” and blamed for all the disruption they

Reprinted from the January-March, 1962 issue of the General Electric Forum, Schenectady, N.Y.

brought with them. Their techniques were ignored, while a passionate rear guard action was fought to keep the old Mandarin society unaltered, down to its last ceremonious particular. Within fifty years, Chinese society all but collapsed and then entered on another fifty years of anarchy.

In Japan, on the contrary, the West had been studied by leaders and soldiers long before Commodore Perry arrived to demand the opening of the Hermit Kingdom. Westerners were seen not as "barbarians" but as representatives of a new type of society which, to resist, Japan would need in some measure to assimilate. Heroic readjustments—including profound structural changes such as the abolition of feudal-land tenure—were made, and within fifty years the West regarded Japan as an equal. In short, the Chinese suffered history; the Japanese controlled it. A similar choice confronts the West today.

Communist pressure on contemporary society resembles, to some degree, Western pressure on the Far East a century ago. We can, like the Manchu dynasty in China, regard our adversaries as "red devils" and attribute all the disruption they cause to an immoral and violent conspiracy. Or we can, like the Japanese, look at the pressure, not so much as a pressure exercised by malevolent enemies, but as a deeper historical pressure of change and upheaval. This is what the Communists project and exploit.

Which of these interpretations should we choose? Let us look at three areas in which we are most keenly aware of Communist competition and challenge. They force us to confront the issue of a working

world order for mankind, in part by their boasts that it will be Communist ("We will bury you"), in part by the frightful dangers of the arms race in which both sides are engaged. Again, they compel us to consider the future allegiance of the "uncommitted" third of humanity by their claim that capitalism simply exploits the underdeveloped peoples, whereas communism offers them the way to both equality and abundance. And this claim is in turn part of their more fundamental credo—that only communism has the secret of long-term economic expansion and can confidently promise its people standards of living which, by 1980, so goes the boast, will be half as high again as those in stagnant, inhibited, self-contradictory capitalist economies.

Clearly, in this confrontation between communism and the West, none of the basic conditions has been created by the Communists. We need some form of coherent world order because science has annihilated space, opened up instant communication and made the world a single neighborhood of potential destruction. Equally, the Communists did not create the desires and tensions of the emergent peoples. Modern industry and technology drew them into the web of world trade and set their feet on the first rung of the ladder of a modern economy. Communists or no Communists, they would try to climb the rest of the way.

As for the dream of abundance, science and technology are making it not a dream but a fact. In the developed world of the West, living standards are higher than ever before. Yet, some \$60 billion is spent on arms each year. An American

road program can swallow up as much money in a few years. A space program will do the same. Nevertheless, men are unemployed, food is in surplus, oil is in surplus, aluminum threatens a surplus, steel capacity is not fully used, most colonial products are in surplus. In spite of the immensity of demand, science keeps supply ahead of it. If, therefore, the Communists say they will increase their national income by five or six per cent yearly, there is no reason to doubt their ability. They have been doing so for years. So have Italy and West Germany and, more recently, France. And the reason is the same. Science and technology have created the preconditions and the materials for abundance. All that is needed is the community's decision to mobilize them, by one means or another, to the full.

Nor is the picture any different in other areas of Communist challenge. We may become aware of the need for more widespread, vigorous and scientific education as a result of Russia's sputnik. But the need for such education is inherent in our growing technological sophistication. We may reach out into space to answer a Soviet challenge. But the decision to explore the upper air was made when the new technology first took Orville Wright a few feet off the ground. Soviet competitiveness does no more than underline in more violent colors challenges and upheavals that are inherent in the fact that we are living through the greatest revolution humanity has ever known—the revolution of scientific change.

Nothing like it has ever happened before. When mankind moved from hunting and fishing to settled agri-

culture and the city-state, the change stretched over millenia. Even so, it modified every human habit and institution. Today, changes of infinitely greater magnitude are occurring in decades, not even in centuries. Everything is exploding—population, knowledge, communication, resources, cities, space itself. These are the forces of change which we have to understand and master. Communism is, in a sense, incidental. It exploits a revolution it did not create, and its pretension to produce satisfactory human solutions is answered by the wall across Berlin.

Communist success or failure is not the point. The fundamental question is whether we in the West are able to confront the challenge of our times. And here we face an agonizing difficulty. For some of the creative responses, which we *must* make, run deeply against the grain of our traditional thinking. The analogy from China and Japan is again relevant. China was so dedicated to the old rule of courtly Mandarin and country gentleman that it could not renew its leadership in terms of the new forces of industry and city, of entrepreneur and industrialist. But Japan did so, even at the cost of root-and-branch land reform, and then was able to counter the new pressures from the West.

Today, in each of the major areas of challenge — international order, the developing world, the use of our abundance—we are inhibited by attitudes inherited from our pre-scientific past. The attitudes are dear to us. We can modify them only with great distress and questioning. But these are precisely the pains of any great historical transformation. History does not offer men only the easy

options. It tends to come up on their blind side and challenge them precisely where their interests and beliefs are most deeply engaged.

We instinctively distrust the idea of an organized international society because our emotional allegiance is still to our own isolated, independent, sovereign nation. We instinctively question the idea of a special effort or program to speed the development of the emergent peoples, for we inherit the belief that "normal" trade and investment should govern the relations between sovereign states, developed or otherwise. And we tend to reject the idea of a sustained program of economic growth—by whatever percentage a year—because our instincts still regard "big government" as a menace and private activity as the really legitimate tool of economic expansion.

Now, as we have seen, communism rejects all these reactions. What is more serious is that the facts of our scientific age belie them too. No nation can be isolated in the atomic age. Fall-out rains down on the committed and uncommitted alike. The underdeveloped areas cannot speed up their growth without special long-term assistance, since "normal" investment tends to go to wealthy countries. In "normal" world commerce, the price of manufactured goods produced in developed countries goes up, while the price of raw materials produced in emergent territories goes down. The national circuit is making the rich richer, while the poor lag further behind.

Above all, the experience of the last decades underlines the fact that private demand alone does not unlock the full range of modern scientific production. It took a vast arms effort to jerk American industry into

doubling its size after 1940. It took the Marshall Plan to push Europe into the new pattern of the mass-consumption economy. American food production, maintained by government aid, so far outstrips American—or Western—demand that the surpluses, grown on less and less land, could feed a hungry world. And Europe's farming now promises to show the same surge.

In short, the astonishing secret of modern scientific economy is that, after a certain stage of development, we can have what, as a community, we decide to have. Imagination is not limited by scarce resources. On the contrary, resources are limited by scarce imagination. Yet, it is broadly true to say that in the West this freedom of imagination comes only when—as with arms or the space race—fear is involved. Even education has had to beg for funds under the guise of national security.

This, then, is the agonizing confrontation of needs and policies in the West today. It is possible to plan purposefully—through public agencies, through private agencies, through the co-operation of both—for an abundant world. To many Western minds, however, planning is seen as the abdication of freedom to total government. This is their core of orthodoxy. Here, as with the Manchus and their ancient tradition, they are more willing to face defeat than to compromise.

Happily, the choice is not so stark. To opt for purposive policies aimed at abundance does not involve slavery or totalitarianism or total government control.

A profound inventiveness has marked much of Western policy

since 1945, and on every side there are now creative experiments to show how abundance can be organized in freedom. The Common Market proves that free nations can concert their policies and achieve greater co-operation. France's Monnet Plan has shown how sensible governmental direction can stimulate free enterprise to new vigor, while strengthening the country's social capital. Britain is tentatively adopting the same approach. The example of West Germany, Sweden and Holland has shown how wise restraint by trade unions and careful consultation between government, labor and management can check potential inflation and allow rapid growth to be combined with stable prices.

All these experiments point to the way the West must go—to closer international co-operation in the Atlantic area as the nucleus of world order, to Western support for quicker economic growth in new common markets in Latin America, in Africa and in Asia, to consistent Western programs for higher, steadier domestic expansion, for bolder aims in education, in culture, in better urban living and for prosperous, free economies rolling forward on the two essential wheels of lively private expansion and vigorous public investment.

These are not pipe dreams. They have been partially achieved. What is needed now is that we should generalize them, weave them into an accepted grand strategy and then challenge communism at its most vulnerable point, saying to the world: We can give you co-operation, abundance, growth, more equal sharing—and we can give you freedom too.

Yet, can freedom really be pre-

served in this age? It has become a commonplace of our times to argue that modern trends—toward a more complex technological environment, toward a wider role for government, toward greater international action—all threaten to dwarf the ordinary citizen and reduce him to a puppet of forces he neither understands nor controls. What are we to say to these fears?

First of all, we must ask what kind of freedom is involved. That a farmer in Jefferson's day had more "freedom" than a city dweller is true in the sense that his life was less complex, less hemmed in by other people, more guided by individual choices. But that kind of freedom vanished with the coming of industry and the cities. The freedom we have to define is freedom in the modern, increasingly urban world—above all, freedom to participate in the social process and freedom to influence political decisions in an effective way. And it is by no means clear that these freedoms are less than they were.

Let us take the three elements of risk—our more complex technological background, the increased activity of government, the greater range of international action. Do they necessarily decrease existing freedoms? A good case can, on the contrary, be made for the argument that the average man has rather more elbow room today. When the modern industrial and technological frame of our society was built in the 19th century, the overwhelming majority of citizens had no say in it at all. The vast social influence exercised by business decisions flowed from autocratic rule, with virtually no public participation.

Today, all is changed. Big decisions—for instance, to shift a whole industry out of a city—are usually taken in close co-operation with local authorities. There is infinitely more consultation within the plant. The majority thus have more influence over their immediate environment. Increasing industrial sophistication in the West has led to more industrial democracy, not less.

Does the increasing role of government reduce the citizen's freedom? It depends, in part, on the kind of governmental intervention. To give the most obvious instance, a ban on child labor reduces the "freedom" of a few industrialists, while increasing the freedom of a lot of children. But the decisive issue is whether government today is more responsive to public opinion, more open to intervention by individual citizens, more aware of shifts and changes in public mood. And it can be argued that it is all these things.

One important reason for the change is, undoubtedly, the very great increase in effective communication. Too often this last is seen as a potential danger—that of government propaganda manipulating a bemused citizenry. But it also works the other way. The web of mass media, which makes the Western world one vast sounding board, allows the citizen to speak up in a totally new fashion. There are few forgotten "village Hampdens" or "mute, inglorious Miltons" these days. Anyone who has anything worth saying, any group that has anything worth doing can be fairly sure of reaching the mass circulation media and of having the experiment discussed from end to end of the country. And it then becomes a

factor influencing government via the pressure of public opinion.

Another aspect of increased communication is the ease with which government can be made to feel the changes of mood and outlook among majorities and minorities. This has its dangers. Governments may listen too much and lead too little. The fanatical lobby may exercise pressure beyond its proper weight. But these risks are not the risks of total government. On the contrary, they illustrate the sensitiveness with which the views of the citizens are checked and courted. The computer does not wipe out the unit. It enables the smallest unit to be registered and weighed.

Even the growing importance of international decisions does not necessarily deprive the ordinary citizen of controls and safeguards he once enjoyed. Thanks to television and the press, he can now—if he will—be better informed about the world scene than he was forty years ago about his own country. His views, whether they be mature or irresponsible, are constantly sought by eager pollsters and become one of the factors that influence statesmen in their decisions. And, since the facts upon which to base decisions are so much more accessible than ever before, it is not surprising to find that, even over the gravest international issues, the influence of citizens outside government has its effect. The picture of a vast, passive, mass electorate manipulated by government is a caricature of the West today. Citizen opinion has probably never been livelier or more listened to. Alert, well-informed groups these days have a wholly new leverage upon public opinion and hence upon public affairs.

That the quality and responsibility of the citizens themselves determine the role they can play can be illustrated from the other end of the political spectrum—decision-making in units of government so small that no threat of hugeness or distance or strangeness inhibits the ordinary voter. Where in Western politics today do elections most often tend to produce unrepresentative and unfortunate results? The answer is not in doubt. Municipal politics tend to be more open to corruption, trade-union elections tend to be most rigged.

There is no excuse here that issues are remote or candidates unknown. The point is simply apathy. Again and again—in Britain, in Australia, in America—extremists or dishonest leaders have been able to manipulate a trade-union election because the rank and file **did not** go home to look at television, and the majority of their fellow workers did. And how many cities tolerate graft-ridden, boss-ridden government because citizens, unlike the recent reform group in New York City, are too indifferent to organize and vote the grafters out of power?

No, the citizen of today is not the voiceless, faceless man of the modern anti-Utopias. He can influence government at every level—directly, by participation in honest local politics and by choosing men of integrity to represent him at higher levels; indirectly, by the views he holds, the courage with which he holds them, the letters he writes to his elected representatives, the lobbies he supports, even the replies he makes to pollsters. From the sum of his activities and those of his fellow citizens emerges the picture of the

nation—informed or ignorant, reactionary or bold, mean or generous, scared or unafraid. And at no time in history has so much depended upon the quality of his response.

We know what is profoundly at stake in this epoch of total scientific upheaval and of communism's efforts to exploit the upheaval for its own advantage. It is quite simply the freedom of man. But it is not enough to state the truism. Freedom can mean so many things—freedom not to worry, freedom to enjoy myself in my own way, freedom to abstain from politics, freedom from foreign entanglements, freedom "to do what I like with my own." No doubt these liberties are included within the definition of a free society. But it is clear that they are not the sum of freedom as it has been strenuously lived in the Western world. Nor do they make up a picture of freedom that can survive the even more strenuous challenge of the present age.

The freedom we defend is a freedom that has flowered in the West as the crown of a complex tradition. One element in it is a liberating sense of creativeness. From our Jewish heritage we learned to see history not as an iron destiny but as an unfolding drama in which man could engage in a creative dialogue with the living God. As a result, the West never succumbed to the pessimistic vision of history as an eternal recurrence, a "melancholy wheel." All things could be "made new." Progress was written into the evolutionary basis of creation. For all his sins and betrayals, man could co-operate in the building of a better world. To lose that sense of creative purpose, to believe that our present stage—even with shining suburbs and the

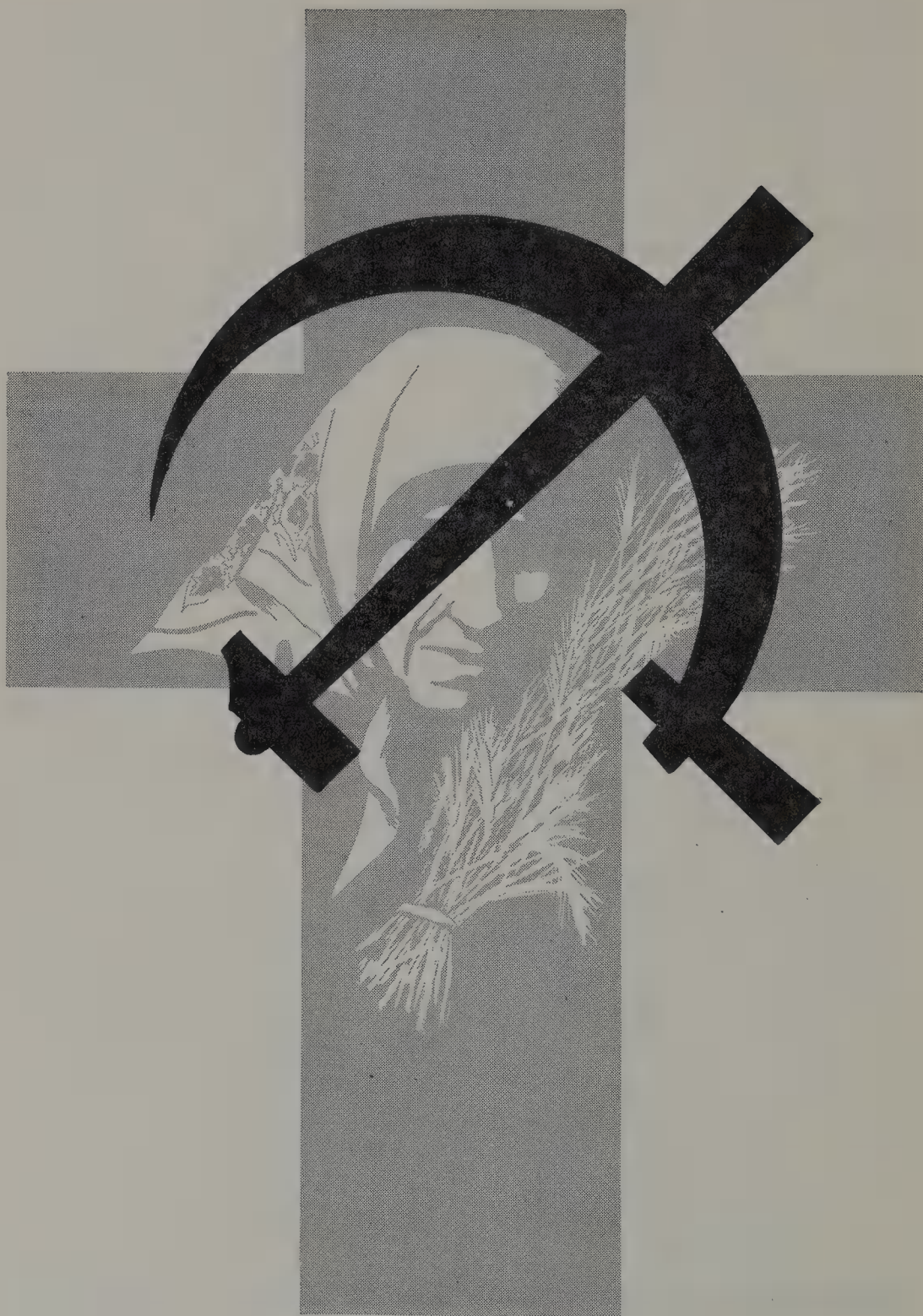
barbecue pit—is man's "last, best end" would be to destroy the fundamental creativeness of Western freedom. It leads us forward, not back.

Our tradition has had, too, its roots in a universal aspiration. The God of the Jews was not a tribal god but the God of all mankind; in Christianity the ideal of human brotherhood knew "neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free." Moreover, at every great turning point in Western thought, men have felt that the discoveries they made or the institutions they devised were the patrimony of the whole human family. The American experiment itself was, for its greatest leaders, a portent for humanity, "man's last, best hope," the promise that the burdens would one day be lifted from all mankind. Today, when world society is an inescapable need, it would be a betrayal of our deepest drives to deny that it can be organized in freedom.

Above all, alone in human history, our tradition of freedom is based on the belief that all men must share its benefits and that the foundation of true freedom can be found only in justice. The rights and woes of the disinherited have thundered out in our society from the days of the first Jewish prophet down to Karl Marx. That salvation for the rich depends upon compassion for the poor has been the inescapable

lesson of the gospels through two millenia. Today, for the first time in human history, our Christian duty—to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked—can be physically and actually fulfilled. Modern science provides the material resources to do precisely this. Therefore, to leave disease, starvation and misery untended is now, for the rich nations, a matter of choice. They have a new freedom added to the dimensions of their liberty—they can choose to end or not to end the world's poverty.

It is no coincidence that communism claims each of these Western traditions for its own. It claims to remake heaven and earth; it claims a universal brotherhood, and it claims to offer abundance and equality to all the children of men. We may know how much is specious and corrupted in its claims. But what will our claim to freedom look like, if the world sees it to be uncreative, isolationist and locked up in its own selfish wealth? The Western citizen of today, if he is to face the world's crisis of freedom, cannot ignore the deepest ideals of his own free tradition. He must wish to "recreate the face of the earth." He must see the human race as one brotherhood. He must set his abundance to work in order to end other people's misery and want. In this spirit, freedom will conquer. Without it, freedom hardly deserves the name.



ATHEISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

- *The attention paid by the free world to the new draft program of the Communist party and to the new party program as subsequently adopted by the 22nd Party Congress has been almost entirely confined to the economic and political parts of these documents. The program also contains guiding principals for the education of the "Soviet man."*

- *Within the framework of these principles, several statements dealing with religion and religious believers were included. Although no specific section is devoted to these problems, a careful study of the program will clearly reveal the general directives that are to guide the party's struggles for atheism.*

- *This subject was taken up in the 1961 issue of the Moscow atheistic journal Science and Religion, which*

contained an editorial entitled "The Communist Party and the Atheistic Education of the Working People." This article is, in large part, reprinted here.

- *It goes without saying that utmost prudence, and even greater skepticism, are required in reading this material. At no point does it make mention of the bloody persecution of religion and religious associations in the Soviet Union, nor of the millions of Christian believers in the Soviet land. Finally, it is written in typically deceitful jargon.*

- *This editorial is important for the reader in the free world. Without too great mincing of words, it states the aims and methods of the Communist anti-Church campaign and sets forth the various stages of the "class struggle," thus revealing the existence and nature of a uniform line in the over-all strategy of Communist atheistic work.*

Reprinted in abbreviated form from *Expulsus*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Koenigstein in Taunus, Federal Republic of Germany.

■ The new draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published recently and now being debated by all Communists and working people, reveals the grandiose prospects opened up by communism in our country. Besides listing the tasks of the party in the creation and promotion of the material and technical bases of communism, and in the development of Communist social relations, the draft program of the CPSU gives a full presentation of ideological foundations and methods for the education of the broadly cultured working people of Communist society.

In the course of the complex and multiform process of molding the Communist world view, the party has paid great attention to completely eliminating the remnants of the past—including the religious prejudices and superstitions still present in the consciousness of a part of our population. The draft program contains the following statement:

The party now considers it an integral part of its Communist education work to combat manifestations of bourgeois ideology and morality, and the remnants of private-owner psychology, superstitions and prejudices.

MEANS AND METHODS

The same program also calls attention to the means and methods of atheistic work. They are designed to ensure the victory of scientific, materialist views.

The party uses ideological media to educate people in the spirit of a scientific, materialist world view, and to overcome religious prejudices without insulting the sentiments of believers. It is nec-

essary to conduct regularly broad atheistic propaganda on a scientific basis, to explain patiently the untenability of religious beliefs which were engendered in the past, when people were overawed by elemental forces and social oppression and did not know the real causes of natural and social phenomena. This can be done by making use of the achievements of modern science, which steadily solves the mysteries of the universe and extends man's power over nature, while leaving no room for religious inventions about supernatural forces.

The draft program of the CPSU, the stand it takes and the conclusions it permits regarding the course to be followed in overcoming religious prejudices, breathe the spirit of eternally living and creative Marxism and constitute a further development of Leninist principles regarding the Communist party's attitude toward religion.

COMMUNIST EDUCATION

The development of the new society is carried out by the party on a strictly scientific basis. Communism ensures the all-around development of man's personality, freeing it from all remnants of capitalism, including those of religion.

In the course of Communist growth, all development achieved in science and culture aids in overcoming religious prejudices and in consolidating the materialist and scientific world view in everyone's mind.

Religious ideology is directed against science, against the exploration and explanation of the universe. Religion is opium for the people, a poison for the minds of its adherents. With its unscientific claims and

distorted views concerning the development of nature and society, it prevents believers from co-operating, with full consciousness and all their strength, in the construction of communism. It isolates believers from the outside world so that they cannot take an active part in social life, and it keeps their mental interests imprisoned within the narrow and stuffy miniature world of their religious association.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Lenin pointed out that the tactical course to be followed by Marxism in its dealings with religion had been consistently thought out by Marx and Engels. It is the direct and inescapable consequence of Marxist philosophy, closely linked with all teachings of dialectical and historical materialism.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist view of the essence of religion, the Communist party regards the ideological struggle with religion as an integral part of its ideological work. Lenin stated:

Our entire program is based on the scientific—namely, the materialist world view. The explanation of our program, therefore, necessitates an explanation of the true historic and economic roots of the religious fog. Our propaganda must, therefore, by all means comprise atheistic propaganda. . . ." (*V. I. Lenin*, Vol. 10, p. 68.)

The Communist party has laid down the conditions and demands which guarantee success in the struggle against religion. According to Lenin, in order to wage an effective struggle against the religious ideology, one must be a dialectical materialist, able to explain to the masses

just how religions and faiths come about. The religious world conception will be all the more effectively, completely and thoroughly unveiled, the more consistently our ideological struggle against it will be based on the achievements of, and keep abreast of new discoveries in, progressive science.

Lenin also demands that the cause of the antireligious struggle should not be pursued in an abstract way, but concretely and on the foundation of the class struggle, which educates the masses more and better than anything else. He wrote:

The atheistic propaganda of social democracy must be subordinated to its fundamental task, namely, developing the class struggle waged by the exploited masses against their exploiters. (*V. I. Lenin*, Vol. 15, p. 375.)

However, as is well known, class struggle is in a continuous process of development; in every stage of history it has different tasks to accomplish, so that it assumes the most varied forms.

THE CZARIST ERA

From this it follows that in atheistic propaganda the concrete situation must be duly taken into account at every stage, and in every period the main task must be seen as the overcoming of religious prejudices.

The entire history of the Communist party's ideological struggle against religion is a shining example of the waging of antireligious propaganda in a manner varying with the concrete conditions of the particular stage of class struggle prevailing at the time.

In the years of preparation for the proletarian revolution, the party

did not put the tasks of atheistic work in the foreground.

At that time, when religion wielded great influence within the working class, and particularly within the ranks of the peasantry, an all-too-pronounced struggle against it might have led to a weakening of the revolutionary forces. Such tactics would have been only too welcome to the exploiting classes, which would have put such injudicious emphasis on antireligious work to good use—primarily to divide the ranks of the working people.

Lenin's demand (that the struggle against religion should be subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of all working people) assumed concrete shape in the program adopted at the Second Party Congress in 1903. In line with the necessity of uniting all democratic forces in the struggle against Czarist autocracy, the party put forward only such demands in this program as were readily understood and supported by the broad masses of the people. The party, so the program read, fights for the guaranteeing of freedom of conscience to all working people and for their liberation from the mental slavery exercised by Church and State.

To this end, the party waged a determined struggle for the separation of Church and State, as well as of schools from the church, for the abolition of class privileges and for the absolute equality of rights of all citizens—regardless of sex, religion, race and nationality.

In the interest of the cause, V. I. Lenin deemed it possible, at that time, to admit such workers to the party as had not yet broken away from the church.

At the same time, however, he de-

manded that no compromise should be tolerated with regard to religious ideology, and that the damage inflicted by religion in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society should not be underestimated. He called for systematic atheism.

It is well known that the first Russian revolution of 1905-07, which dealt such a severe blow to Czarist autocracy, also played a decisive part in the liberation of the masses from the religious narcotic.

After the revolution had been suppressed, czarism, the landed gentry and the bourgeoisie made attempts to revive and strengthen religion among the people. Obscurantism filled the pages of newspapers and periodicals. The "Holy Fathers" anathematized the best representatives of Russian science and culture.

COMMUNIST "GOD-MAKERS"

At that time, while the revolutionary movement was going through a recession, religious and philosophical vacillations were evident among a part of the party intelligentsia, which indulged in God-making and God-seeking.

The God-makers (Lunacharsky, Bazarov et al.) advocated the creation of a so-called Socialist religion, thus trying to unite that which cannot be united: religion and Marxism.

These harmful trends, directed in reality against the party itself, were dealt a shattering, decisive blow by Lenin. In his article, "On the Attitude of the Workers' Party Toward Religion," he exposed this opportunist distortion of Marxism's stand on religious questions, as well as the attempts of the God-makers and God-seekers to have a religious ideology sneak into the consciousness of the working class.

Lenin pointed out that the God-seekers and God-makers were merely bringing grist to the mills of the bourgeoisie, to which the God concept was a convenient practical means for keeping the people in slavery. Thus, by polishing up the God concept, the creators of the "New Religion" at the same time gave a fresh polish to the chains into which the exploiters had put the working people.

In its atheistic propaganda of that time, the party made the fullest possible use of the persecution of all sectarians, heretics and dissenters, and, by exposing the criminal, anti-popular alliance of Church and State, it unveiled the reactionary countenance of the clergy.

DUTY OF THE PARTY

It is to this period that Lenin's well-known antireligious decree on consistent atheistic propaganda among the masses refers.

The attitude of the state toward religion must not be put on a par with the attitude of the party of the working class. If, in the attitude of the state toward religion, under the conditions of the exploitation system, the demand for noninterference by the state with the exercising of religious beliefs is as correct as can possibly be, the Marxist party, in its turn, cannot adopt an indifferent stand on religion and regard it as a purely private affair. The Communist party is an alliance of enlightened, progressive fighters for the cause of the working class and all working people. To the party the lack of proper enlightenment and insight among the masses cannot and must not be a matter of indifference. The party considers it its duty to wage a struggle against any obscuran-

tism, against the religious narcotization of the working people, and this struggle it wages with the weapons of ideology, with those of the printed and the spoken word. For the Communist party this struggle is not a private affair but an all-party matter—an all-proletarian cause!"

THE SOVIET REGIME

The newly established Soviet regime now started out to put into practice the demands of the first program of the Communist party regarding the possibilities for realizing freedom of conscience. The fulfillment of these demands was embodied in the famous October decrees and in the historic Leninist decree of the Council of People's Commissars of January 23, 1918, "On the Separation of the Church From the State and of the Schools From the Church."

This decree laid down the main guarantee for freedom of conscience: the church was separated from the state, thus being deprived of state support and of all privileges it had enjoyed before the revolution.

The decree not only assured the working people of the right to exercise any religious faith, but also guaranteed them the freedom of not belonging to any religious association whatsoever. The school was freed from clerical domination and guided toward the road to Soviet education.

Now, with the demands of the first party program concerning the safeguarding of freedom of conscience having been realized, the Communist party put the task of liberating Soviet citizens from religious prejudices in the foreground.

Of extremely great importance for the solution of the vast and complex

task was the Eighth Party Congress. This congress emphasized that the adoption of the decree on the separation of Church and State and of the schools from the church, as well as the other measures destroying the alliance of state and religious associations, were regarded by the Communist party as the beginning of its work for the atheistic education of the working people.

MILITANT ATHEISTS

In the development of scientific atheistic propaganda, a decisive part was played by an article written by V. I. Lenin. "On the Importance of Militant Atheism" directed criticism against the party and state organs because of their shortcomings in the unfolding of atheistic work. A number of suggestions, all of them highly valuable, were made on the nature and proper organization of this work.

Lenin demanded that atheistic propaganda should be put on a firm scientific foundation and that one should be implacable in one's stand on idealism and clericalism.

One of the important practical measures taken in the ideological struggle against religion was the publication, started as far back as 1922, of the weekly *Bezbozhnik* (*The Atheist*). Printed in mass editions, this periodical played an important part in the organization and carrying out of atheistic work among the population.

The year 1924 saw the founding of the Society of Friends of the Newspaper *Bezbozhnik*. Here was the foundation stone for the League of Militant Atheists, an association which soon developed into a nationwide, atheistic mass organization.

As a result of the comprehensive

and diversified work of the party in the field of ideological education and its large-scale propagation of atheism, the majority of the Soviet people had turned away from religion and broken with the church even before the start of World War II.

This constituted a great victory for the Communist party's ideology and policy, a victory for Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist party and the Soviet state have scored great successes in the atheistic education of the masses. At the present stage of world history, our country is the country of mass atheism, the country where the scientific atheistic world view holds unchallenged dominance.

However, even now some religious remnants are lingering in the consciousness of certain people. Yet the creation of a new man, with Communist character traits, habits and morality, demands that the religious narcotic be completely overcome.

Decisive importance is attached by the Communist party to the achievement of a fundamental change in the material living conditions of the working people, a change which is the combined result of the overthrowing of the capitalistic social order (the very system which had planted this religious narcotic among the masses), the construction of socialism and the movement toward communism.

The destruction of the social roots of religion is the chief task to be accomplished on the road toward its elimination. The fundamental transformation of society according to Communist principles creates such relations among people as will automatically remove the causes of the

fantastic religious distortion of reality, and it will establish to the full extent the prerequisites for the complete elimination of religion.

Engels points out in this connection that the sooner people learn to look ahead, the sooner they become the conscious lords and masters of their creative powers, and the more fully they not only sense but also become aware of their unity with nature, all the more impossible, thereby, will the senseless and monstrous concept of any distinction between mind and matter, man and nature, body and soul appear to them. This concept has spread all over Europe since the decline of classical antiquity to find its supreme development in Christianity.

Underlining the great importance, from an educational point of view, of the participation of the working people in the construction of the new society, Lenin wrote:

Struggle is the only thing which educates the exploited classes. Struggle is the only means which reveals to them the extent of their powers, which widens their horizons, raises their capacities, clarifies their mind, hardens their will.

The inclusion of religious believers in the production process, comradeship and aid and care, the endeavor to put their creative powers to the best possible use—this is what constitutes the basis of the work for drawing believers away from religion.

This does not mean, however, that atheism will be able to stand its ground all by itself, without any atheistic enlightenment of the masses. The classical authors of Marxism-Leninism steadily empha-

sized the necessity of performing active, persistent work for the atheistic education of the masses.

Life itself has fully borne out the correctness of these demands. Any let up in the struggle against the remnants of capitalism, including religious prejudices, will not only cause them to be preserved, it may even make them grow stronger.

RELENTLESS FIGHT

It was not by chance that the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in its recent resolutions on ideological questions, urged party members, Communist youth and labor union organizations to activate their atheistic work, to place it on a broader basis and to improve its contents.

The party points out that it is necessary to wage, in an offensive manner, a systematic ideological struggle against religion. No consideration of any kind, nor any tolerance, is permissible in this matter. Since these remnants of the past are obstacles toward the solution of the tasks of Communist construction, there must be no indifference and no passivity in the fight against everything that is stuffy, antiquated or wholly alien to our order.

The passivity on the part of individual organizations in atheistic work is not infrequently due to an incorrect interpretation of the actual meaning of the freedom of conscience which is guaranteed in our country to all citizens. The churchmen and sectarian leaders falsely interpret this democratic principle as granting them freedom of religious propaganda, freedom to force religious views upon the people. In this manner they try to exploit, for their own selfish interests, the party's con-

sideration for religious sentiments.

The Communist party and the Soviet state, in guaranteeing freedom of conscience to the Soviet citizens, are by no means indifferent toward the fate of the religious believers. They have set themselves the task of drawing these citizens away from the influence of religion, the influence of a most thoroughly antiquated and distorted world view. For this reason, freedom of conscience in the Socialist society is inseparably linked with an active struggle for the total eradication of all remnants of religion in the consciousness of the people.

IMPLACABILITY

In atheistic work, one must also take into account those changes which have taken place within the church itself in the course of Socialist construction. With the destruction of the sociological basis on which the church was founded in prerevolutionary Russia, it was deprived of any significance as an instrument of class suppression and chose the position of a loyal attitude toward the Soviet regime. This, however, did not in any respect change the true nature of religious ideology, which was and continues to be an ideology directed against science, obscuring man's consciousness and paralyzing his creative powers.

Nor can our implacability be mitigated by the attempts of the churchmen to adjust religion to present conditions, to rejuvenate it, to change a few concepts of "Holy Scripture" and to create the impression of a proximity and essential kinship of the religious teachings and principles of communism.

The irreconcilable cannot possibly be reconciled. These attempts by the

churchmen must be regarded as a mere tactical course, aimed exclusively at lengthening religion's span of life.

The basic prerequisite for liberating religious believers from tutelage by churchmen and sectarian preachers is strict compliance with the Soviet laws on religious worship. In the country of the Soviets, not the slightest violation of the guaranteed freedom of conscience by either the Soviet administrative organs or the clergy can be permitted.

The laws on religious worship warn against taking such administrative measures in the struggle against religion as might be apt to strengthen religious fanaticism. At the same time, they warn against adopting too liberal an attitude toward those clergymen who, in the interest of church and religion, transgress against Soviet law.

An important place in overcoming the vestiges of religion is occupied by measures for providing the Soviet people with suitable cultural means to spend their leisure time, and for the total elimination from their way of life of any customs and traditions based on religion.

As is known, it is in the people's way of life that religion most readily finds a permanent abode. In many cases, religious ceremonies linked with birth, marriage and death will not infrequently be performed, even when religious doctrine is no longer recognized as such. All religiously colored festive customs harm the Communist education of the Soviet people and help preserve the remnants of the past.

However, these ancient traditions, linked with religious and cult rituals, are not always recognized for what they are. Consequently, they do not

meet with resistance in every town and village. There are even cases on record where some have tried to protect the obsolete religious feasts and use them as an old form for new, progressive Socialist contents.

Soviet society has achieved great successes in the Socialist transformation of the way of life of the working people. However, there is still much that remains to be done in this field. Considerable effort must still be devoted to giving as colorful and diversified a form as possible to the new, nonreligious feasts and the new, Socialist traditions, so that no room will remain for anything old in our way of life.

THE CHIEF TASK

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the struggle against religion is not an end in itself—it must under all circumstances be subordinated to the chief task: the construction of communism. Our entire atheistic work predominantly aims at including religious believers, too, within the overall productive, political and cultural life, thus creating dependable guarantees for their liberation from the influence of religion. In our country, the great majority of religious believers participate actively in the construction of the new life. As N. S. Khrushchev said:

Our believers love earthly life. They do not aspire to a heavenly paradise. They want to have their paradise on earth. It is here that they want to live, to work and to enjoy the fruits of their work. And they are not doing too bad a job of it. In the 44 years which have passed since the revolution, we have achieved great successes. Now the road into the true Communist paradise has been mapped out by the new draft program of our party. We will devote all our strength to the fulfillment of this program.

In the new draft program, the party warns against insulting the sentiments of religious believers and against such administrative measures as will only retard the struggle for the complete eradication of the remnants of religion.

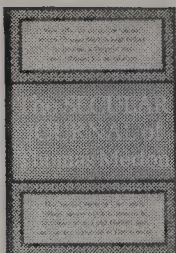
The realization of the new program of the CPSU will, in the end, lead to the complete elimination of the remnants of religion and to the progressive adoption, through education, of atheistic views by all Soviet people.

Communism is a society of people of high culture, versatile education and most fully developed consciousness. A society in which there is no room for religion, this remnant of social oppression, intimidation and lack of culture.



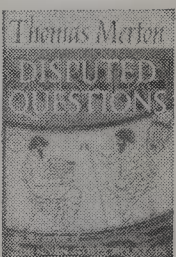
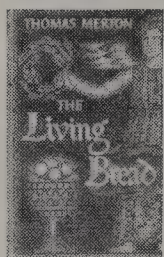
AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY . . .

. . . to meet Thomas Merton in four of his warmly profound and illuminating works. Begin your own Merton library now by taking advantage of this opportunity to join the Catholic Book Club. Your enrollment premium of four books at \$2.98 (value \$14.20) will introduce you intimately to the extraordinary mind and personality of Thomas Merton, known in religion as Fr. Louis, O.C.S.O. Lifeblood of a master spirit, these works show Merton reaching poetic heights. With rare perspicacity, frankness, profundity and succinctness, his writings cover a wide range of subjects from Pasternak and totalitarianism to philosophy, Christianity, love and sacred art. The four books offered you embrace every outstanding aspect of Merton's life and personality, and will form an excellent spiritual library. All four are yours at the low price of \$2.98. (Retail price of the books would be \$14.20.)



● **THE SILENT LIFE** . . . speaks vividly of the solitary life of a "man made lonely . . .," of a man who possesses all because he has left all.

● **SECULAR JOURNAL** . . . frankly records Merton's private thoughts and doubts during the years of "searching." The story moves from Greenwich Village to Cuba, then back to Harlem until it reaches a climax at the Abbey of Gethsemani.



● **THE LIVING BREAD** . . . radiates Merton's contagious joy—a joy derived from the great mystery of the Eucharist. "It is not a defense of doctrine, but a meditation on a sacred mystery" in simple and intelligible terms.

● **DISPUTED QUESTIONS** . . . is a simple "thinking out loud about certain events and ideas" significant to the spiritual and social life of modern man.

The Catholic Book Club is the original book-service-by-mail-for-Catholics — a service of the editors of AMERICA, the National Catholic Weekly Review. It offers you a wide range of outstanding books from which you will be able to build your own outstanding library. Unlike other book clubs, the CBC requires no minimum order of books during any period. A monthly "Newsletter" describes each selection, which you are free to accept or reject. All these benefits are yours at great savings. Each CBC selection generally costs no more than \$2.98 (plus a small handling charge). And you may cancel membership at any time.

Begin Your Membership With This Merton Library!
Mail Card In This Issue Today!

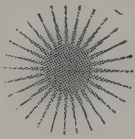
CATHOLIC BOOK CLUB

120 Broadway

New York 10, New York



MINDS AT WORK



WAKE UP, CONSERVATIVES ■ Voices have been raised calling for an end to the controversy between liberals and conservatives. Some think the debate has become so bitter as to threaten unity and charity among American Catholics.

We would like to ask, what debate between liberals and conservatives? We know these two words have lost much of their meaning. Today they are often used as invective rather than descriptive adjectives. They do retain some significance, however.

The term liberal was the first to be abused. Back in the 1930's and '40's, it was appropriated by many who were anything but liberal. Leftists, pinks, fellow travelers and even Communists called themselves liberal. Many of them still do.

Now the term conservative is being abused. Reactionaries, fanatics, Birchites, members of the extreme right wing and of the lunatic fringe call themselves conservatives.

We can't help wondering just what is conservative about libeling prominent Americans as Communists, about demanding the im-

peachment and even hanging of Chief Justice Warren, about calumniating large numbers of Protestant ministers and Catholic priests as Communist sympathizers? What is conservative about contending that only internal subversion is a danger and advocating that we stop building up our military strength against a foreign foe? What is conservative about adopting the tactics and methods of the Communist Party? Or labeling every social advance liberalism, which is socialism, which is communism? Or opposing integration, welfare programs and foreign aid as Communist plots to weaken America?

What is conservative about snooping on your neighbors and friends to denounce them as Reds, if they disagree with your social outlook? Or about declaring that the United States government has been the greatest force in the world supporting the Communist conspiracy? What is conservative about denouncing fluoridation of drinking water as a Communist plot to poison Americans? Or about ridiculing the Pope's encyclical as a "venture in triviality"?

What is conservative about encouraging the American people to lose faith in their government, their institutions, their way of life and their leaders by picturing the judiciary as biased and leftist, the Congress as composed of greedy and selfish men, and the Executive branch as made up of dupes and traitors? What is conservative about claiming that one group alone knows how to oppose communism and that anyone who disagrees is a dupe or disloyal? What is conservative about branding everything and everyone you don't like as Communist?

Fortunately there are still true liberals and true conservatives in America today, and there are large areas where there can and should be debate between them. No one should deny to conservatives the right to advocate a balanced budget, to decry wasteful government spending, to denounce inefficiencies in the administration of foreign aid, to fear the intrusion of government into spheres hitherto closed to it, to emphasize the principle of subsidiarity, to defend legitimate States' rights, to combat subversion at home as well as the Communist threat from abroad, to question the prudence of continued aid to Tito and to promote private initiative and personal responsibility.

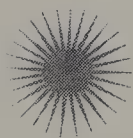
These areas and many others allow for discussion, disagreement and a variety of opinions among true liberals and true conservatives. Neither group has a monopoly on the truth, just as neither is endowed with omniscience. We have always had both liberals and conservatives in America, and each has contributed to the welfare of the country. Instead of less, we should have more debate between them.

As regards the ultraconservatives, the extreme right-wingers, it would be difficult to call off the debate. There just hasn't been any. You can't debate with people who feel and emote rather than think, and one of whose chief occupations is writing abusive letters. These ultraconservatives are completely self-assured and never suffer a doubt. They alone are fighting communism, and they alone know how. If you don't follow their line, you are apathetic to communism or even a Communist in disguise.

It isn't possible to debate or reason with this type. We **can** hope and pray for them. They are almost as dangerous as the Communists.

In the meantime, true conservatives should wake up and protest the use of the honorable title of conservative by these fanatical groups.

—RALPH GORMAN, C.P., in *THE SIGN*, January, 1962.

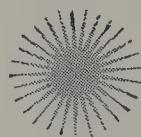


THE FALLOUT SCARE ■ *Considering the insignificance of the fallout threat and the great proportions of the fallout scare, I believe that the general concern about radioactive fallout is not objectively motivated. It is rooted in the worries and tensions connected with our first use of the atomic bomb. Hiroshima is now synonymous with horror, and the story of Hiroshima has been*

told so often that guilt about Hiroshima has tainted our judgment of anything that is associated with nuclear development.

If we consider radioactive fallout objectively rather than emotionally, we know that world-wide fallout is not as dangerous as living in Denver rather than San Francisco, that it is not as likely to induce cancer as smoking a pack of cigarettes a day, that it is not as likely to give rise to harmful effects as are many unsuspected chemicals in the food we eat or in the air we breathe, that it is not as apt to produce mutations as wearing trousers. It is, in other words, not worth worrying about.

—EDWARD TELLER, *in the SATURDAY EVENING POST*,
February 10, 1962.



COMBATING COMMUNISM ■ Some readers are sure, sure, sure that they know all about how to combat communism, that they are in on the secret, and I'm not.

They send clippings from various publications to educate me about a Red peril that I have been warning against for more than 30 years.

Their program boils down to this: sniff out suspected Communists, suspected pro-Communists, suspected dupes, suspected soft-on-Communists, suspected comsymps, and so on.

Because anybody can be suspected, the potential suspects include practically everybody, not excepting that vacuum-headed columnist Breig.

There are other folks, however, who are not satisfied they have all the answers, and who inquire: "What can I personally do to combat communism?"

You can combat communism by:

- . . . paying a decent wage to the woman who helps with the housework—and treating her right.
- . . . not blowing your stack if the paper boy is late occasionally.
- . . . giving the mail man and the bread man the respect due to images of God.
- . . . not snapping at clerks in stores.
- . . . doing whatever you can to see that all employees in all enterprises receive the compensation they need to rear their families properly.
- . . . rejecting prejudice in every form.
- . . . giving a generous and loyal day's work in return for a day's pay.
- . . . refraining from clock-watching, chiseling and other cheating that undermines free enterprise.
- . . . respecting public officials and teaching your children to do so
- . . . advocating a just salary for policemen and other public servants.
- . . . contributing generously, not stingily, to the missions and other works of religion, to charity and so on.
- . . . supporting the United States in helping poorer and weaker nations and insisting that waste be cut out of such programs.
- . . . upholding every intelligent effort to bring about a rule of reason and law in international relations.
- . . . remembering that it is grievously sinful to destroy another's good name.
- . . . patronizing neighborhood tradesmen and small enterprises, rather than bankrupting them by rushing hither and yon to avoid paying a just price for goods and services.
- . . . praying more. Doing your daily work for God. Being at Mass more often. Frequenting the sacraments.
- . . . supporting good education.
- . . . getting into Confraternity of Christian Doctrine work, or study clubs, or any branch of the lay apostolate.

I could go on. But I can put it in a nutshell. The climate of love

of God and neighbor is fatal to communism. The climate of suspicion and dog-eat-dog is dandy for communism.

Let Christianity rule your life and shine through it, and you'll be combating communism.

Missionaries don't spend their time berating communism, but preaching Christ and doing Christ-like things.

This is not to say that communism shouldn't be exposed. It should. But the best way to do that is to show how wrong it is by showing how right religion is.

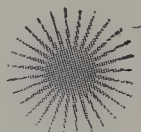
The bishops of Chile have voted to carve up all the Church lands in that country and put them in the hands of small farmers.

That's a right and effective way of combating communism.

Pope John urges that workers be given more of a share of ownership. That's another right and effective way to combat communism.

Christ has the answers—and we can find them in the gospels.

—JOSEPH BREIG, *in the* ADVOCATE, *Newark, January 25, 1962.*



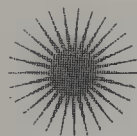
PATIENCE, NOT SLOGANS ■ *At a time in history such as ours, the temptation toward the slogans of the right—"Get rid of the Communists"—or of the left—"Get rid of the bomb"—are especially strong. Then, too, men who have a religious commitment often think that religion somehow provides an easy answer, has a word to say that will solve all of the world's difficulties. Even while the barbarians are beating on the gates of the city, we must cultivate patience. We must continue to make the frustrating, but ultimately important, attempt to understand. This attempt is often difficult to explain to a public impatient for solutions, but it is indispensable for our civilization, and only the fool or the Philistine can fail to see its value.*

—WORLDVIEW, *September, 1961.*

THE PARISH CHURCH ■ The times we live in are not inclined to the grand manner. The church edifice need not conquer and impose itself with ambitious monuments nor with unparalleled extravagance. It is true that we offer the work to God and that it should have primacy in the world as a symbol of the numerous divine attributes. But the idea of "greatness" belongs to the hierarchy of values; it is spiritual fact, not simply a numerical scale.

For the moment, the age of the cathedral—the edifice that summed up the spirit of the whole city—has passed in some countries. Today, the parish church is the minor reality, minor also because of smaller resources. Parish churches are the privileged, noble children who stand around the old, mother church where the bishop resides and help make the chorus around the earthly City of God. These minor realities are the voice of hope; they are the smallest church bells that ring in harmony with the greater bell. The church, as Manzoni said with characteristic lyricism, is "the field of those who hope." The feeling of expectancy is extended in hope, which is not illusory virtue but the path that is indispensable to our security.

—MSGR. GIOVANNI FALLANI, in *LITURGICAL ARTS*,
November, 1961.



COLONIALISM AND LAW ■ *It is true that colonialism is done for. It is a remnant of the past (and Soviet colonialism is a worse tyranny than any slave regime of the ancient world). But let's not confuse the law of historical development with the international law represented by the UN Charter. History is consigning colonialism to oblivion, but the Charter provides that the remains be disposed of according to the due process of law.*

—JOHN B. SHEERIN, C.S.P., in *the CATHOLIC WORLD*,
February, 1962.

*A professor of philosophy seeks
to awaken Catholics to
the significance of the off-beat
intellectual movements
outside the Church.*



**CATHOLIC
UNDERGRADUATES
AND THE
EXISTENTIAL
REVOLT**

ROBERT J. KREYCHE

The Aquinas Address, Creighton University,
Omaha, Nebraska, November 16, 1961.

During the past decade a very lively and fruitful controversy has arisen in this country concerning Catholics and the intellectual life. In sum and substance the charges that have been made amount to this—Catholic higher learning is not as high as it should be, and Catholic colleges and universities are, in certain important respects, inferior to their secular counterparts.

I do not intend to review the history of this controversy nor, for that matter, to revive it in the terms in which it was originally set forth. What I am concerned about, however, is this: Apropos of the many erratic movements (the beatnik tradition, for example) that are currently taking place outside the very sheltered Catholic domain, it is time that Catholic intellectuals, including the student body at large, began to address themselves in far more emphatic and articulate terms to some of the problems of their times. Anxiety abounds. There is murder, suicide, offbeat drama and poetry. But the world of Catholic learning goes on somewhat aloof from all these phenomena, as though failing to respond both intellectually and culturally to the needs of contemporary man.

What I shall say presumes some personal knowledge of the minds and attitudes of our undergraduate students. But am I entitled, you may ask, to make such a presumption? Indeed, can any professor claim to know the minds of his students? To this I humbly respond that I have no superior powers of insight or intuition that enable me to penetrate the student's subconscious or the mysterious domain of his interior life. In the final analysis, only the student himself knows what goes on in his

own mind, and even this may be doubtful at times.

Nevertheless, as a Thomist philosopher, I acknowledge the truth of the dictum: "*Operatio sequitur esse.*" Roughly translated, this means: "I know the sort of being you are by the way you jump, study and talk back to your professors." Your external conduct gives me the clue to your individual and collective essence as students. I am not necessarily a fool, therefore, rushing in where angels fear to tread.

What I have been trying to say is that today's undergraduates — whether they are to blame for it or not — are failing to receive the measure of training they need to face the problems of today's mixed-up world. This holds true especially in those areas — pre-eminently the area of theology — that are the *raison d'être* of a Catholic college and the ultimate test of its failure or success. Why I consider these statements to be true, I shall explain later. Yet I want you to know now that I am not claiming in radical, nihilistic fashion that Catholic education as a whole has been, or is, impractical, ineffectual or absurd. What I do claim is that in many ways it is less than realistic from the point of view of its explicitly stated goals. I do not intend, therefore, to abolish the system. But I do want to offer some remarks that may contribute to a new sense of direction for Catholic undergraduates.

Up to this point I have confined my remarks to the relatively harmless order of essence. Let me descend a bit into the more exciting, though rather untidy, order of existence—a realm in which it is difficult to avoid stepping on very

sensitive toes. In this more controversial realm, I must confess that I have been fomenting a little existential revolt of my own these past few months. To date it has had no more than local proportions. You may regard it, if you will, as an attempt on the part of a professor of philosophy to arouse his students from their seemingly endless and, indeed, unprofitable dogmatic slumbers. To follow through with the Kantian terminology, what I say in the balance of this address is, pedagogically speaking, a sort of prolegomenon to the future of metaphysics and theology in our schools. More than that, it is a sort of prolegomenon to the future of Catholic higher education itself.

Let me proceed, therefore, with the words of one who has played the role of a Socratic gadfly these past few years, namely, the eminent Jesuit theologian Gustave Weigel, S.J. Speaking of the status of learning in our schools, Fr. Weigel remarks:

... much stress is placed on the use of reason, but the student is discouraged from using it originally. His problems and the precise problems of his time are not considered. . . . A verbalized scheme is offered, and philosophy is often reduced to it. The search for meaning and the exhilarating spiritual experience of intellectual discovery have no place in such courses. In their place, verbal formulas are previously constructed as answers to questions the student did not raise and whose historical significance he does not know.

The excerpt is taken from Fr. Weigel's address delivered in 1957 before the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs.

The conclusion of this part of his address reads:

If this is intellectualism, the average student is quite right in wanting no part of it. Yet if, in his innocence, he asks for something different, although he knows not what, the look of scandalized horror on the teacher's face prevents him from making the petition again. Subtly he is given the impression that he has just denied his faith, which is the last thing the student wants to do. With a sigh, he goes back to memorize the textbook's definition of the terms . . . and constructs out of them a syllogism winding up in a foregone conclusion.

The picture Fr. Weigel presents may be somewhat exaggerated, and I for one would hope that the teaching of philosophy and other key subjects in our schools is not as dismal or as nominalistic as he makes it out to be. Even so, the situation he describes has a sufficient basis in fact to be something more than the product of a fiery imagination. Certainly, the author is right when he inveighs against the excessive use of the argument from authority, especially in those areas—outside of theology—where this argument is the weakest of all. Rightly may the student revolt—even in the very classroom—if he feels, with good reason, that his native curiosity is being subjected to unwarranted abuse.

But does he revolt? Here, indeed, lies the rub. However inspired or uninspired the teaching of philosophy and theology may be in our schools, there seems to be lacking in our students a verve and zest for learning that is solicitous to get at the rock bottom of things. A routine observation, you may say. Professors *always* complain about the apathy of

their students, at certain times more so than others. Besides, what makes you think that the situation is any different on our secular campuses?

But that is precisely my point. If Catholic learning with respect to the basic attitudes of its students is no different from the learning of the secular campus, if, in other words, it fails of its essential purpose, then what is so special about it? How can we justify the effort that is made to sustain a completely independent system of schools?

Against the background of this question, may I direct your attention now to the more far-reaching significance of the title of my talk? Who is the Catholic undergraduate, and what do I mean by the "existential revolt"?

It is a risky business to try to define something typical. It is like trying to define the state of one's health. Yet I would venture to say that the typical Catholic undergraduate is a far cry from his poverty-stricken, immigrant forebears. He is, in many ways, a child of his time—the product of an affluent society, part-time job notwithstanding. He is willing, if necessary, to sacrifice for his education, but most often from purely economic motives. He wants an education to get a good job or, in the case of the Catholic college lass, to get someone who can get a good job.

I am not, of course, condemning these motives, for they are completely in harmony with the nature of man. Seldom, however, does the spirit of sacrifice, even where it exists, carry over into the intellectual and spiritual domain. Seldom does it impel the student to perceive the invigorating effects of a philo-

sophical and a theological wisdom that will penetrate to the bone and marrow of his existence. Seldom, too, has our typical undergraduate been shaken to his heels, the way unbelievers are, by any fear and trembling as to what life's purpose is about. Ever since the days of pigtails and knee pants, he or she has the classical formula of the catechism to fall back on: "God made me to know, love and serve Him in this life and to be happy with Him in the next."

The problem, therefore, with our typical undergraduate is not a lack of morality or a sense of dedication to the faith. His problem is that he takes these things for granted, and in doing so he becomes, like the foolish virgins of the gospel, chaste—but not especially distinguished for the use of his intelligence in those things that are of the highest concern. True enough, our typical undergraduate is not unaware of the problems of juvenile delinquency, and he also knows, though somewhat remotely, that some of his friends have lost their faith at non-Catholic schools. This latter consideration, however, only confirms him in the conviction that Catholic education is a good thing for him, since it is a protection of his faith from the incursions of the outside world.

It is not easy to define the "existential revolt," since it is many things wrapped up in one. From one aspect, it represents a growing dissatisfaction, especially among our youth, with certain prevailing cultural ideals, such as our modern worship of the fruits of technology. It represents a reaction to the hollow commitment of previous generations to ideals—either secular or religious—that were never fully lived up to.

It represents certain new forms of poetry, art and drama of the shock-type variety, literature of the sort which—however scandalous its language may be—is meant to make people return to their wits.

The existential revolt in this country is the semipopular predecessor of a movement which has not yet become strong enough to find full philosophical expression on our shores. It is a movement, however, that is closely aligned in spirit with such thinkers as Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus. It is a movement of protest and anger, an outcry of human freedom against the depersonalization, the dehumanization of man. It is an attempt to restore, in however unorthodox fashion, some appreciation for the realm of mystery, especially that of man's own being. Too often, however, it is characterized by a sort of worldly asceticism—as that of the Zen Buddhists and the beatniks—an asceticism which unfortunately fails to lead to any real illuminative way.

Here, indeed, lies the paradox: While the revolt I describe is, in a sense, a search (however implicit and vague) for some kind of religious truth, it is a search none the less that is carried on in an atmosphere of delinquency and sin. It is characterized, to use Dietrich von Hildebrand's expression, by a sin-mysticism, a sort of fascination with the reality of sin insofar as it does represent man's power to make a free choice. If there is anything typical about the movement, it is this: Reality is absurd. But better to put up with this absurdity, to meet it squarely in the face, than to make believe—as have so many Christians—that there is no real conflict be-

tween the legitimate aspirations of man and the mechanization of modern society by would-be social engineers.

I would sum up the spirit of this revolt thus: Beneath its surface characteristics, which many lovers of conformity find in poor taste, if not loathsome and disdainful, the existential revolt reveals an undercurrent of defiance against any attempt to make man a robot. It is a protest against the hypocrisy that pledges itself to a set of ideals and then fails to live up to them. It is distrustful, to say the least, of the kind of pure rationalism which claims to know in some facile way all the answers to life's problems, without any commensurate effort to solve those problems on the part of those who make such a claim. The spirit of the revolt is an open declaration of the absurdity of modern life in relation to the values of our culture. It is a real protest against the stripping of meaning from human activity, e.g., in the use of food and of sex. When those who share the spirit of this revolt say, "My existence is absurd," they mean it. Though their attitude may be exaggerated, it is exaggerated because of the failure of Christians to practice what they preach.

The existential revolt, then, is something more than a mere voluntaristic reaction or a fad. Unfortunately, the movement in this country is not sufficiently strong to distinguish it from the many strange fads in which it is disguised. Still, there is no reason why the Catholic undergraduate should not examine with some degree of seriousness the personal challenge that lies behind the spirit of this revolt.

Instead of playing the role of a

pharisee, of posing a kill-joy moralist, he should try to understand that the protest of the beatnik is not so much a protest against morality as such, but against the puritanical morality that has dominated the external life of America in the past. Our undergraduate should further try to understand that, although the movement appears to be sensate and licentious, it is basically an attempt to reassert the legitimate aspirations of human freedom against the arbitrary repressions of a decadent Protestant culture. In fact, the Catholic student should be among the first to recognize in this movement, whatever its surface excesses, some of the basic theses of his Thomist psychology—which I would translate thus into modern terms: "You can be moral without being dull; you can be artistic without having to preach; you can make a bold and generous use of your senses without putting them to the service of sin."

As Christians then, it is high time that we should foresee the ideas of our times rather than embrace them after everyone else has discovered the element of truth they contain. Why does it so often happen that we, who should be the true revolutionaries, are the worst reactionaries of all? By what sort of compulsion-neurosis are we, as Catholic intellectuals, impelled to be the last soldiers to die in battlefields that are foreign to our own tradition, while we are antagonistic to causes that are spiritually allied to our own? I am not suggesting that Catholic students should, of a sudden, choose beatniks as their exemplars. What I am recommending, however, is that we perceive in the existential revolt an

element of intellectual and spiritual hunger that is a refreshing contrast to the spirit of pragmatism that has dominated the American *Zeitgeist* until now.

I have been speaking to you of the challenge of the existential revolt. What is the nature of this challenge? In the first place it is not one of imitation, but of rediscovery. In other words, I am not suggesting to our Catholic students that they imitate the secular ascetism, the pretentious fads and the gawky mannerisms of the beatniks. At the same time, I am not implying that the Catholic student should pretend that he doesn't know the answer to the basic problems of life when, as a matter of fact, he does. What I am asking him to do is to re-examine the tradition of scholars and saints, which is his own, with a view to making that tradition relevant to the ferment of his times. Make no mistake about it. Christian civilization is much larger and richer than the wisdom of any one man or culture. It is much more expansive than our own localized version of it, which is in too many respects tainted with the corroding deposits of Jansenism, Puritanism, and pragmatism. It is the expanse and grandeur of Christian civilization that the student must somehow be made either to discover or rediscover for himself.

Can it be truthfully said that the typical Catholic undergraduate knows his tradition? Textbook manuals he has in abundance. But how many of the sources has he read? How many of last year's graduates ever read or will read a single chapter of Augustine, if not from *The City of God*, at least from the *Confessions*? How many have ever even

heard of Boethius, except perhaps to memorize some few definitions that made him famous among the scholastics? How many of our students have ever sampled the mystical writings of Teresa of Avila or John of the Cross?

I sympathize with a priest-friend of mine who complained to me of a group of students on a secular campus who knew thoroughly *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* but little or nothing of the Ten Commandments. Yet, is not the problem in our Catholic schools somewhat the reverse of this? The tables of Mt. Sinai are deeply engraved on our minds and our hearts. Nevertheless, when it comes to an understanding of the illuminative and unitive way, we are, for all practical purposes, intellectual and spiritual illiterates. How many of us have read Newman, Mauriac, Gilson and Maritain, except possibly in fulfillment of some skimpy assignment that was due on the date of the final exam? Certainly there is no want of lip tribute to the great classical writers of the Christian tradition. These are the writers, I am afraid, of whom it can be said: their names are, indeed, unforgotten, though their works for the most part are unread.

Why this failure of our students to explore the classical sources of Christian culture and Christian thought? I do not assume that they harbor a positive hatred of learning. Not that at all. Their sin, rather, is that of a moderate intellectualism confined to the narrow boundaries of one's pedagogical needs. What is lacking is a deep-seated passion for learning, the learning which might get in the way of one's other ambitions—whether those other ambitions be sanctity or worldly success.

I have warned against the dangers of pragmatism. But please do not suppose that I am against schools of commerce, business schools and the like. They are an integral part of university life. I am categorically opposed, however, to the narrow and confining spirit of opportunism that so often prevails among them—a spirit that is in direct conflict with the aims of Catholic education as such. Yet we must not be too hard on our schools of business, for even within the liberal arts tradition itself all is not well. Perhaps a few words of personal comment about the teaching and learning of philosophy may help to establish my point.

For those of us who are Thomists, the principle that being is intelligible is the starting point of our intellectual life. The truth of this principle, however, should not imply a sort of Catholic rationalism which would justify the withdrawal of the community of Catholic scholars and students from the conflicts of our day. The principle of intelligibility was never intended by St. Thomas to deny the element of contingency that exists in the world. Indeed, the real world is one of excitement, novelty, variety and change. Failure to take these elements into account leads to the metaphysical myopia that characterizes the absolutism in the philosophy of Hegel.

A proper understanding of reality requires of the Catholic intellectual that he know his position of involvement in the world. He is never entitled to lay claim, in virtue of his superior wisdom, to an aloofness that would absolve him from the task of doing the truth in charity as regards his fellow man. Hence the Catholic intellectual cannot be

unsympathetic to the existential revolt, even if that revolt starts from the position that reality and man's position in the world are not only unintelligible but absurd. Indeed, it must be absurd to anyone—beatnik or not—who fails to understand the essential purpose of life.

Too often the attitude of Catholic intellectuals in this country is one of comparative smugness and complacency. They waver between an overconfident dogmatism and a voluntaristic fideism. Although possessing the truths learned from both reason and faith, they allow neither to inform their activities. They are like the confident supporters of a football team who are convinced that, no matter how tough the opposition, the team is predestined to win. The truth, in other words, does not lie in us as a deeply operative and personal habit. Not infrequently, we—the collective we—are mere bystanders on the side of truth.

This attitude of passivity can have a demoralizing influence on the intellectual life of our students. It were better, I submit, for some of our students to have their conscience pricked and their intelligence aroused by the objections of agnostic professors. I am not, of course, suggesting that we hire agnostics. I do recommend, however, that our schools discontinue their role of intellectual refineries. Today, the crude oil of contemporary thought is continually processed before it is readied for the retail consumption of students. Worse yet, the very truths of faith itself are submitted to a similar process of refinement. These truths most often are not presented as the strong meat of sacred theology, but as something that is pre-digested, sterilized and ground to the

mealy level of a pabulum suitable only for infant consumption.

Earlier in my address, I quoted Fr. Weigel's accusation concerning the failure of Catholic educators to provide a real stimulus to learning. Permit me to add a few comments of my own. I submit, for one thing, that there exists in our Catholic schools a certain type of passive, inert orthodoxy that can only lead to indifference and lethargy on the part of our students. And why? Perhaps because the mode of learning in our schools is too deeply influenced by the spirit of homiletic and pastoral theology in which the protective instincts of the good shepherd often come to the fore. Even as college students our Catholic young men and women (often referred to as "girls and boys") are regarded as children. Now there may be nothing wrong with regarding one's students as children were it not for the fact that children have an endless patience for being spoonfed. They are incurably addicted to the practice of doing the same thing over and over again. Catholic educators too often abuse this tendency in the classroom. The work of learning is carried on in a sort of liturgical cycle—as though it were a ritual to be re-enacted, not a challenge to be met.

What is the challenge that faces today's undergraduate? It is the challenge of restoring a true Christian culture as the antidote to the vague and offbeat stirrings within our society. It is the challenge of reasserting the spiritual nature of man and of human freedom.

You may be surprised to hear me insist upon the need for apostolic zeal as the central motive for meeting this challenge. What, you ask,

does apostolic zeal have to do with the cultivation of the intellectual life? I do not say that religious zeal should be a substitute for learning. Neither am I saying that there is an intrinsic connection between being a scholar and being a saint. There are many scholars who have no aspirations at all to become saints. There are many saints who, even if they chose to become scholars, would be poor ones indeed. What I am saying is that, given the vocation of a Catholic intellectual, there is no stronger motive for becoming a scholar than that of becoming a saint. For the Christian intellectual who is intent on becoming a saint is one who knows that the fulfillment of his vocation lies in and through his work. He knows, too, that the order of grace never destroys, nullifies or derogates from the development of his natural powers. On the contrary, grace is a principle that transforms and elevates the natural powers to a level of performance they could never achieve on their own.

The central mistake of Catholic education in the past, I would judge, has been the heresy in practice of supposing that supernatural ends could be served by short-cutting, or even by-passing, natural means. For this we cannot hold the student to blame. He is caught up in a system that is much in need of reform through a kind of educational statesmanship — both far-sighted and courageous — such as we have not seen in the past.

I agree in principle with Father Hesburgh of Notre Dame that our schools should play a mediatory role, if by this is meant that Catholic learning, though presumably of a higher order than the secular do-

main, should none the less be relevant to that domain and thoroughly integrated with it. Its mood, in other words, should no longer be one of retrenchment—but of aggressive and forceful leadership, especially in the crucial role of theology. We need a greater number of theologians who are not only competent but also nationally engaged in the issues of contemporary life. What we need, in short, is many more Gustave Weigels and John Courtney Murrays. Equally important is the need for training laymen in theology — not indeed, as professional theologians but as men who, in their various professions, have a profound intellectual understanding of the faith.

Too many of our young women's colleges are little different from the Victorian finishing schools of a hundred years ago. Too many of our young men's colleges, ruled as they are by a quasi-seminary routine, are inadequate as centers of preparation for the life of the layman in the world. Too many of our urban universities are degree mills for future careers in the business and professional world. The training in many of our seminaries still produces an end-product that is isolated both intellectually and culturally from the laity. Happily there exists a spirit of co-operation between the lay and clerical members of our colleges and universities because of a common work to be done. Yet this spirit of co-operation does not always prevail between the faculty as a whole and the administration that directs the policies of the school. In most instances the administration, which is dominantly clerical, is appointed by religious superiors who are somewhat remote from the give-and-take of the intellectual scene. True enough,

there is a strong advantage in being above the level of all the little tempests-in-teapots that arise in academic life. Yet these little tempests—which are the outcome of an intimate experiential contact with the life of the institution—cannot be ignored except to the detriment of our schools.

One final point. There are some Catholic educators whose statesmanship carries them no further than the prescription of adding one or two courses on communism as a means of warding off the evils of our times. Personally I have no objection to courses of this sort, but I reject the spirit which would regard them as a sort of panacea for our intellectual deficiencies. Such short-sighted remedies as these can only serve to perpetuate the negative and defensive mentality of many Catholic intellectuals in this country.

Suppose communism were defeated tomorrow. There would still be the need for developing a culture and a set of values of our own. The establishment of Christ's Kingdom on earth, although it clearly involves the destruction of the forces of evil, is, in more positive terms, the establishment of a Kingdom of truth, justice and peace. Certainly no Catholic student can be accused of a messianic complex if he sees the relevance of his Christian tradition to the problems of his times. To this end I would hope, therefore, for the establishment of a new kind of school that would be professedly a school for the elite—for future lay leaders in the world. Failing this, we may never get the kind of lay leaders we need—at least not in the proportion in which they are needed to respond to the contemporary revolt.

*Are we moving toward the suffocating
wasteland of socialism?
Need we reverse the trend and go back to the
exaltation of the individual?
No, says Father Masse. There is a middle
ground between laissez-faire
capitalism and communism. The modern
mixed economy is closer than laissez-faire
to Christian social ideals.*

■ Ever since the first Administration of Franklin Roosevelt, the role of government in society has been one of the great issues in American political life. Time and time again, as government expanded to cope with problems at home and crises abroad, the public has been warned that the nation is headed toward the suffocating wasteland of socialism. On the other hand, one of the most widely read economists of the day has eloquently argued that the public sector of the economy has been slighted and that, unless government spends a bigger share of the national income than it is now spending, the gulf between private affluence and public poverty will breed the most disastrous social consequences.

The issue raised by this controversy cuts across a number of academic disciplines. Economists are concerned with it. So are sociologists and political scientists. And so, too, are theologians and moral philosophers. Nor should the interest of theologians and moralists seem strange or surprising, since a little reflection will show that a man's conception of the role of government derives ultimately from his deepest beliefs about human beings, their purpose in life and the society in which they work out their salvation.

An address delivered at the annual luncheon of the Catholic Economic Association, New York, December 28, 1961. Father Masse is an associate editor of *America* and past president of the CEA.

How true this is can readily be seen from the reactions of people to the issue of big government. Men who believe that the individual human being doesn't count for much and are prepared to subordinate him to the progress of a particular class, race or nation tend to regard government bigness as a positive good. Similarly, those who exalt the individual in the spirit of 18th-century rationalism are instinctively led to oppose expansion of government power. So it is that Socialists are delighted with developments over the past three decades and are disappointed only that government expansion hasn't gone further than it has; whereas the economic liberals in our midst, who stand somewhat to the right of the late Senator Robert Taft and like to be known as conservatives, are dismayed by the trend of events and sigh nostalgically for the good old days of untrammelled *laissez faire*.

■ Between these extremes lies a third group on which it is difficult to pin a label. Like the economic liberals they have a high regard for the individual human being, but unlike the liberals they stress the social as well as the individualistic aspects of human nature. Like the Socialists they recognize that man must live in society and achieve his perfection as a member of a community, but unlike Socialists they refuse to permit man to be absorbed by society and lose his identity in the human mass.

Stemming from this concept of human nature, which in the Western world is the product of Judeo-Christian culture, is a philosophy of government that can best be described, perhaps, as middle-of-the-road. While recognizing the state as the supreme political power in society, this philosophy does not accord it unlimited authority. It holds that individuals and families are prior to the state and possess rights independently of it. These rights are "inalienable," as the American Declaration of Independence proclaimed, because they derive from God. The state is obliged to respect and protect them. On the other hand, the state is not to be looked upon as a negative element in society, a kind of necessary evil called forth by the original sin of Adam and Eve. Far from being merely a passive policeman, as economic liberals hold, it is a positive force charged with the duty of defending and promoting the common good.

This concept of the individual and of government has important consequences for the socio-economic sector of society. We are concerned here with only one of them, namely, the relationship between government and its citizens as socio-economic agents. More specifically, we wish to inquire whether government in the United States—all government, Federal, State and local—has become too big a factor in the nation's economic life, whether it is spending too much or taxing too much.

These same questions, projected on a world scale, occupy Pope John XXIII in *Christianity and Social Progress* (*Mater et Magistra*), the encyclical published last summer to commemorate the 70th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's *On the Condition of the Working Class* (*Rerum Novarum*).

■ The Pope begins by affirming "that the economy is the creation of the personal initiative of private citizens." It is the result, he says, of "their pursuit of common interests either as individuals or in various associations." He immediately adds, however, appealing to the teaching of his predecessors, that "public authorities also must play an active role in promoting increasing productivity with a view to social progress and the welfare of all citizens." They must direct, stimulate, co-ordinate, supplement and complete the efforts of private enterprise. And the Pope goes on to appeal to experience ("the evolution of history itself") for confirmation "that there can be no well-ordered and prosperous society unless both private citizens and public authorities unite in contributing to the economy." For where "the state fails to act in economic affairs when it should, or acts defectively, incurable civil disorders are seen to follow." And "where the personal initiative of individuals is lacking, political tyranny appears."

This general philosophy leaves unresolved, however, the perennial problem of deciding in practice precisely what parts government and private enterprise should play in developing and directing the economy. As an essential guide in determining the respective spheres of activity, Catholic social teaching proposes the principle of subsidiarity. In *Reconstructing the Social Order* (*Quadragesimo Anno*), Pope Pius XI defined it in this way:

This supremely important principle of social philosophy, one which cannot be set aside or altered, remains firm and unshaken: Just as it is wrong to withdraw from the individual and commit to the community at large what private enterprise and endeavor can accomplish, so it is likewise unjust and a gravely harmful disturbance of right order to turn over to a greater society of higher rank functions and services which can be performed by lesser bodies on a lower plane. For a social undertaking of any sort, by its very nature, ought to aid the members of the body social, but never to destroy and absorb them.

■ It will be clear, of course, from its very wording, that the principle of subsidiarity lacks the mathematical precision of a yardstick. It does not automatically regulate the relationship between citizens and their

government. If I may be pardoned quoting something I have written elsewhere:

Of course, the state should not do more than is necessary to correct some social evil, but how, in the concrete, are we to judge that the state should go precisely so far and no farther, or that, indeed, it has gone far enough? How are we to decide that individuals can or cannot accomplish some project through their own initiative, or that a smaller organization can do a job which a greater organization proposes to undertake? (*America*, August 26, 1961, p. 658.)

All such questions involve practical judgments on a set of existing circumstances, and nothing, alas, is more certain than that equally knowledgeable people, confronted with economic and political decisions of this kind, can and do arrive at conflicting conclusions. As Cardinal Léger, Archbishop of Montreal, said last year in his address to the Canadian Social Week: "Between the clear principles of morality and their final application, too many judgments of facts, too many technical considerations intervene to permit one always to arrive at certitude." Indeed, in *Mater et Magistra*, Pope John himself refers to inevitable differences of opinion over the application of the Church's social doctrine. "The transition from theory to practice," he writes, "is of its very nature difficult," because of the difficulty, among other things, "of determining the demands of justice in particular cases."

It is not without some diffidence, therefore, that a man addresses himself to the question of governmental bigness in the United States today. For whatever it is worth, however, it is my opinion that our sprawling government establishment can be amply justified on moral grounds. This conclusion is not equivalent, of course, to blanket approval of all government programs, an approval extending to their wisdom and necessity, or to the competence with which they are administered. It means only that, from the viewpoint of subsidiary function, I cannot find very much to quarrel with.

■ Admittedly, government is a huge undertaking these days, as the Tax Foundation, Inc.—not to mention Senator Harry Byrd—never wearies of reminding us. This private research group, which is domiciled in Manhattan, reported some months ago that in fiscal 1960 government spent \$2,750 for every family in the country. It spent \$222 per capita on civilian pay rolls alone. To finance its outlays, it sharpened the tax bite to the point where, on the average, Americans had to work 6 of the 22 working

days in a month to satisfy the Bureau of Internal Revenue. All told, according to the U.S. Commerce Department's Office of Business Economics, which keeps the national income and product account, the Federal government spent \$92.7 billion in the calendar year 1960, and State and local governments another \$50.5 billion. After allowing for duplication in these figures—an item of \$6.1 billion appears twice, once when given in the form of grants-in-aid by the Federal government and again when spent by State and local governments—this makes a grand total of \$137.1 billion.

Before considering how all this money was spent, let us look briefly at the receipts side of the coin. In calendar 1960, the Federal government collected \$96 billion from individuals and corporations; State and local governments collected \$43.1 billion. (These totals, it may be worth-while noting, include \$20.7 billion in the form of contributions to social-insurance programs administered by Federal and State governments and by municipalities.) Of all government receipts, personal tax and nontax payments accounted for considerably more than a third, or about \$50 billion. Taxes on corporate profits were good for \$22 billion and sales and excise taxes for close to \$23 billion. Property taxes, in which the Federal government has no share, topped \$15 billion. These taxes were paid in a country with a national income of \$417 billion.

So much, then, for the over-all picture of the income flow between citizens and their government.

How did government spend \$137.1 billion last year? The following table tells the story in broad outline:

TABLE I. Spending by Type of Function, 1960
(Billions of Dollars)

National Defense	47.1
General Government	16.6
International Affairs and Finance	2.2
Health, Education and Welfare	51.5
Veterans' Service and Benefits	5.7
Commerce and Housing	13.9
Agricultural and Agricultural Resources	3.5
Natural Resources	3.2
TOTAL	143.7

For the purpose of the present inquiry, a huge slice of this spending, which, once again, includes the \$6-billion duplication involved in grants-in-aid, can be immediately excluded as noncontroversial. National defense, general government, international affairs and finance and veterans' services and benefits plainly fall within the province of government. One can argue that government is spending too much on these functions, but not that they are activities which individuals, acting alone or in concert, are able to perform for themselves. But spending on these functions—about \$72 billion—accounted for more than half of all government spending last year. Indeed, more than 40 per cent of all government spending—and 60 per cent of Federal spending—went to pay the cost of past wars and prevent a future war. And that doesn't include any interest on the public debt, much of which was war-incurred.

■ Scarcely less controversial are a number of programs under Health, Education and Welfare and under Commerce and Housing. On civilian safety, for instance—police, fire, prisons—government spent \$3.6 billion; on transportation—highways, water and air—nearly \$10 billion; on public health and sanitation, \$6.3 billion; on postal services, \$716 million. That adds up to another noncontroversial \$20.6 billion and brings the total of such spending to \$92.2 billion. That leaves only \$44.9 billion for closer inspection.

It scarcely seems necessary to delay very long on government spending on education, public utilities (local transit, gas and electricity) and agriculture.

Something like a consensus exists today that government must supplement the efforts of parents to educate their children by providing free public schooling, at least on the primary level and most probably on the high school level as well. Limited aid to higher education is also generally accepted as a legitimate government activity. In 1960 the bill for government education programs came to \$18.2 billion, with local governmental units spending most of the money.

Similarly, few people are prepared today to pick an ideological fight over government ownership of local public utilities. Spending in this sector amounted to \$235 million.

As for agriculture, it is, under modern conditions, a vexing problem for practically every country in the world. Although a minority of Americans argues for a return to a free market in farm products, the vast majority is persuaded that this is not possible. It is noteworthy that in this area, while exhorting farmers to organize for self-help, Pope John calls for government assistance of many kinds. Even if one concedes that present farm programs can be criticized on a number of counts, it is scarcely arguable

that government has no business in this field. In 1960, the cost of government services to agriculture came to \$3.4 billion.

Thus, total spending on education, public utilities and agriculture amounted to \$22.6 billion.

■ In considering the remaining \$22.3 billion of government spending in 1960, we come finally to two sizable programs which over the years have generated considerable heat. The first involves the efforts of government to deal with poverty and hardship; the second, with its activities in the field of natural resources. Together these programs cost more than \$22 billion in 1960, with public assistance, jobless benefits, Old Age and Survivors benefits accounting for nine-tenths of the total.

■ Now if anybody wishes to prove that under contemporary conditions government welfare and social security programs are an unjustified incursion into a sector reserved to individuals and private groups, he is welcome to the task. He certainly won't find any support for his position in *Christianity and Social Progress*. Far from disapproving government activity in the social-welfare field, Pope John XXIII states that "systems of social insurance and social security can contribute effectively to the redistribution of national income according to standards of justice and equity." His whole temperate discussion of socialization is also pertinent to the question.

■ With regard to natural resources, the only controversy of any note concerns the government's part in the development of water resources. Even here, the argument is limited to power development. It does not touch irrigation, or flood and river control. On this point, I will content myself with observing that the issue between advocates of public and private power development is so complicated that invoking the principle of subsidiarity won't settle it definitively either way.

■ At this point I should like to turn to an objection that was only hinted at early in this paper.

A man might well concede that government is not engaged today in any improper activities, but then argue that nevertheless government spending and taxing have reached the point where economic progress is discouraged and self-reliance undermined. Nothing is more common than to hear businessmen contending that the nation's growth rate would automatically be stepped up if corporations and individuals were free to spend more of their incomes on producer and consumer goods. And in similar vein, more than

one sober-minded citizen has lamented what he describes as the declining freedom of individuals to provide for themselves and their families.

With respect to the harmful impact of high taxes on economic growth rates, one can only say that the case has not been proved. A study undertaken some years ago at the Harvard Business School came to the opposite conclusion. It found that "the accumulation of investable funds by the upper-income classes has been consistently large during the postwar years, despite the existing tax structure, and that individuals with large incomes and substantial wealth continue as a group to hold and invest a large proportion of their funds in equity-type investments." And Roger A. Freeman, no friend of big government, concedes that "at this stage of our economic knowledge it is impossible to demonstrate that the level of taxation has a direct bearing on the rate of economic progress." He points out that certain countries with a possibly higher tax burden than ours—Germany, France, Italy, Japan and the Soviet Union—are experiencing ■ faster rate of economic growth than we are; and that, conversely, many countries with lower taxes have an unsatisfactory growth rate.

■ Nor is the argument against big government as destructive of freedom and initiative any more convincing.

It is true that a vast majority of American workers have some protection, through government-sponsored insurance programs, against the hazards of unemployment, industrial accidents and old age. I find it hard to believe that the minimum coverage provided through law is sapping their initiative and corroding their will to support themselves and their families. Although welfare state has become a dirty word in some quarters, and cradle-to-grave security a topic of easy wit and outraged comment, there is precious little evidence that workers today are any less intent on improving their living standards than their fathers and grandfathers were.

■ Furthermore, despite high taxes, American consumers continue to enjoy more freedom of choice—and therefore more chance to act responsibly—than any other people in the world. Their personal income last year hit \$402 billion before taxes. They paid personal taxes of \$50.4 billion. They spent \$328.9 billion on goods and services. They saved almost \$23 billion. Is this a picture of people crushed by the weight of a ponderous government? Or is it one that suggests that ■ measure of security in life enlarges rather than restricts the area of personal freedom and responsibility?

If we consider the gross national product, the picture of a strong private sector in the economy emerges even more clearly.

TABLE II. Gross National Product, 1960

(Billions of Dollars)

Gross National Product	504.4
Personal consumption expenditures	328.9
Gross private investment	72.4
Net exports of goods and services	3.0
Government purchases of goods and services ..	100.0

In 1960, therefore, government spending accounted for slightly less than 20 per cent of GNP—certainly not an abnormal share, especially when we remember that nearly half of government outlay on goods and services went for national defense. Despite the extraordinary demands of the Cold War, Pope John's affirmation that "the economy is the creation of the personal initiative of private citizens" remains true of the United States.

■ A final objection and I shall be finished.

It has been argued that if one concentrates on the trend of government growth, rather than on the size of government today, the conclusion might be less reassuring. In this connection it has been pointed out that, whereas population increased only 15 per cent since 1952 and national income 43 per cent, government civilian spending jumped 118 per cent.

It is a fact that over this period government expenditures on nonmilitary goods and services increased, roughly, from \$30 billion to \$55 billion. Most of this spending was done by State and local units of government, and it went for such things as slum clearance, sewers, roads, schools, hospitals, fire and police protection. I find nothing dismaying in this. The country is still catching up on the backlog of needs that accumulated during World War II and the Korean War, as well as trying to keep abreast of population growth and the shift from cities to suburbs. If spending on public services had not increased since 1952, the country would be in a terrible mess today. Government would have failed in its duty—emphasized by Pope John in *Christianity and Social Progress*—of seeing to it that social progress keeps pace with economic growth. Furthermore, despite increased government outlays, consumer expenditures, as a percentage of GNP, actually increased between 1952 and 1960—from 64 to 65 per cent.

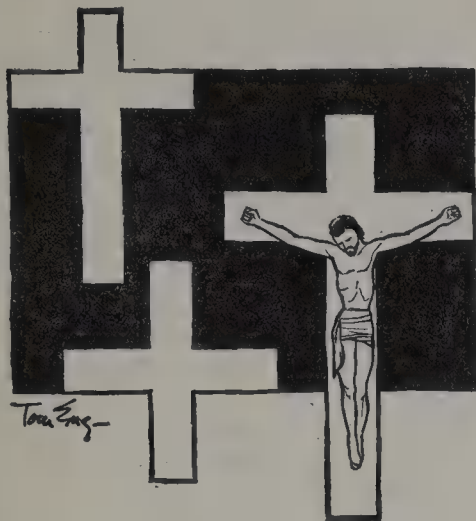
■ There is another very natural reason for the jump in civilian spending. More and more people have been reaching **retirement** age and qualifying for

Old Age and Survivors benefits. As recently as 1956, government payments under OASI came to only \$6 billion. Last year they were \$12 billion. Similar increases have occurred in all government insurance trust funds.

The big increase in benefit payments under government programs suggests that the whole question of government spending could be seen in better perspective if such payments were considered separately from what Professor Bator in *The Question of Government Spending* (Harper, 1960), calls "exhaustive" expenditures, that is, expenditures on goods and services. Far from offering any competition to consumers for goods and services, benefit payments, like interest payments on government debt, rather increase their demand capacity.

■ On moral grounds, therefore, I believe that a strong case can be made out for big government as we are experiencing it in the United States today. This does not imply, as I said earlier, sweeping approval of all government programs, much less of their size and administration. It certainly does not imply that prudent men should hold lightly Thomas Jefferson's pessimistic warning that "the natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground." On the other hand, my stand most certainly does imply that the shrill, extremist voices in our midst who, as President Kennedy said last November 19th in Los Angeles, equate government welfare programs with socialism, and socialism with communism are talking undiluted and inflammatory nonsense.

■ The thesis that between laissez-faire capitalism and communism no middle ground can exist has no support in the social teaching of the Catholic Church. Neither does the deterministic notion that government expansion is a one-way movement that cannot be controlled, checked or reversed by the action of free men. Pope John shows little patience with simplistic thinking of this kind. In *Christianity and Social Progress* he mentions with approval many government activities which would have scandalized some people in the days of McKinley, or even of Coolidge. He gives every indication of believing that our mixed economy today is much closer to Christian ideals than the dog-eat-dog system which collapsed in 1929. One of the reasons, I suggest, is that government is now doing a much better job of promoting the general welfare.



TOLERATION AND CONSCIENCE

HENRY ST. JOHN, O.P.

■ At the meeting of the World Council of Churches at Evanston in 1954, it was reported in the newspapers that a movement within the organization was pressing for a motion against the Roman Catholic Church condemnatory of its alleged persecuting activities against Protestants in such countries as Spain and Colombia. The motion was successfully shelved by the skilled and tactful chairmanship of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher. It is very generally admitted, and often publicly stated, by leaders of the ecumenical movement, that any thought or action on its part, which definitely excluded the Roman Catholic Church because of the difficulties involved, would damage its ecumenical character and tend to

render it pan-Protestant and anti-Roman. Nevertheless, even within the World Council, there are Protestant pressure groups which are anti-Catholic, especially because of the charges of persecuting intolerance made against the Church. These groups would like to see the Church ousted from consideration in the work of the World Council for Christian Unity.

But even where alleged persecuting intolerance is not seen as a reason for the complete exclusion of Roman Catholicism from the ultimate concept of Christian unity, the charge of intolerance undoubtedly causes concern even among those non-Catholic leaders who are otherwise well disposed towards the Church. There is always the lurking suspicion that, if and when Rome gets the power, it will of its very nature turn persecutor. This suspi-

Reprinted from *Blackfriars*, 2 Serjeant's Inn, London, E.C.4, July-August, 1961.

cion is strengthened by a prevalent belief that the only orthodox doctrine of religious freedom permissible to Catholics is that based upon the distinction between thesis and hypothesis. In thesis, where pure Roman Catholic principles can be applied, error must not be allowed to be propagated. Only in hypothesis, when, in adverse circumstances, Roman Catholics cannot prudently impose their principles, can freedom to propagate error be provisionally tolerated as the lesser evil. When a minority, in other words, Catholics defend external religious freedom. But as a majority, should they gain power, they would deny it to others.

It is true that in various forms the theory of thesis and hypothesis is defended by certain Catholic theologians, but it is also true that it represents only one phase in a series of differing positions taken by churchmen from the early days when they were first engaged with the problem of religious freedom.

■ Throughout, two fundamental principles have been at work, sometimes obscured or applied with varying emphasis to existing social and political circumstances, yet always accepted in the mind of the Church as such. These are: 1) the principle that religious and civil power, or, as we say now, Church and State, have distinct rights, each being competent in its own sphere; and 2) the principle that conscience is inviolable, together with the corollary that, though error has and can have no rights (since, technically speaking, a full right responds to the objective truth of things), no public authority exists possessing the right to force a man to act against his conscience even though in fact he be mistaken.

At a particular period in history one principle may stand out with great clarity, while the other falls into the background and becomes scarcely noticed. Later, in course of time, the latent principle begins to come into its own, and later still the wheel of development will turn through its full circle and return to the position it started from, and there perhaps meet with fuller understanding.

In examining this complex problem throughout the passage of history, we must not consider axioms or particular attitudes in isolation. We must scrutinize, with close attention, the Church's attitude as a whole. We must take note of its latent attitudes, side by side with the temporary and ad hoc attitudes forced upon it and upon society by the exigency of critical historical situations. In doing this we may discern, beneath these varying and sometimes inconsistent phases, the growth of a living unity of principle and a line of true development.

To undertake this task adequately, we need a comprehensive and impartial view of the complex history of the growth of religious freedom. This view must be seen within the context of differing forms of social milieu, in which the Church has lived and propagated the life of grace. It must include the development within the social milieu of the principles upon which such freedom is based. For this reason, the English translation recently issued of the classic work of Joseph Lecler, S.J., (*Tolerance and the Reformation*, Longmans.) first published in French in 1955, is most welcome. It will do much, on both sides of the barriers to unity, to help us all to take a measured view of our intolerance in the past and of the true nature of

our future tolerance. Strictly speaking the scope of these two volumes is limited to the century of the Reformation, 1517-1617. It covers in great detail, not so great however that we fail to see the wood for the trees, all the countries of Europe affected by the Reformation. In the course of this Père Lecler examines the efforts towards reconciliation by princes, rulers, and the fathers of the Reformation before it was fully recognized that the unity of Christendom was broken irretrievably in their own age. He then analyzes the arguments and theories of the scholars and writers on both sides who favored toleration in one form or another, the limits placed on such toleration, and the factors which operated to hinder or retard its growth.

■ Père Lecler's work is outstanding for the completeness of its documentation. Yet, so skillfully does he marshal his learning, it can be read with equal profit by specialist and ordinary reader. His second volume contains an extended treatment of France, the Low Countries and England. This latter is in itself a book of some hundred and more pages. In it he shows the power of the Tudor monarchy, under Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth, in maintaining the Church of England in being by the authority of the Crown. Without this it would have been squeezed out of existence between the rising power of the Puritans and the solid block of the Papists with their thousands of inactive sympathizers. This policy entailed the ruthless persecution of both. It was in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, in the second generation of her subjects, that Anglicanism as we know it came

into being. It rose under the protection of the Crown, the influence of Richard Hooker's theology and the leadership of Archbishops Whitgift and Bancroft, to an independence of ethos that began to capture the hearts of the English people.

Not the least valuable parts of the book are its beginning and its end. The opening chapters consist of preliminary data and set out the Old Testament attitude to toleration and its transformation by the gospel. Père Lecler points out the emphasis laid on conscience by the New Testament writers, and especially St. Paul. He indicates their belief in the autonomy of the Church within the political autonomy of society in the Roman Empire, and he makes clear the entire absence of any idea of persecution in their attitude to sinners and heretics. An analysis of the patristic period follows, revealing an almost equal absence of the persecution concept, but a subsequent growth of it, by slow degrees, within the political and religious structure of medieval Christendom.

The conclusions at the end of Volume II give an excellent summary of principles which have been disentangled from the particulars of the historical situation and then applied to their analysis and understanding.

These principles, which, as has already been said, are reducible to two, involve respect for the free and proper activity of Church and State in their own field and for the inviolability of conscience, including a sincerely erroneous conscience. Of the first it can be said that, for complete harmony, the State should be in agreement with the Church as to the bases of morality; in other words the civil government should proceed upon a true idea of the natural law,

which involves at least belief in God, and allow for the preaching of divine revelation to interpret it correctly. Of the second it can be said that conscience cannot and must not be forced; *ad amplexandam fidem Catholicam nemo invitus cogatur*, is the clause in the Code of Canon Law which states this in principle.

Religious persecution results when either the civil power usurps religious power and attempts to form men's consciences, or when religious power takes over or seeks the aid of temporal power to force men's consciences. The Henrician and Elizabethan persecutions were instances of the former, the Marian persecutions of the latter. Whenever Church and State diverge, there is danger, in proportion to their divergence, of damage to men's consciences by malformation or compulsion; this is true not only of divergence between Church and State, but also of divergence between the State and religion in its widest sense, provided such religion contains elements of true morality.

■ From this it will be seen that, in making and administering its laws, it is dangerous for the state to be without standards of morality based on religion. Even a purely humanist state, in fact, derives much of its legislation from the natural law embedded in us by God the Creator. In England we are struggling, sometimes hardly consciously, to retain much in our tradition that derives from the Christian interpretation of the natural law. The reason is that there is a fundamental difference between a conception of freedom based upon the natural law, seen in the light of divine revelation, and one arising from the ideas of liberal

humanism. In humanism all truth is seen as relative; the highest law is not divine and therefore not absolute, but proceeds from conceptions of the human mind, working in independence, without reference to the framework of God's law set there by His creation. Underlying many ideas, even among Christians, on the nature of freedom of thought and the rights of error, is a false or one-sided conception of freedom derived from this source.

In the Christian view, freedom derives from complete dependence upon God, who is absolute freedom, and upon His truth which makes us free, because by grace we are made sharers in the freedom of the divine life. In face of human society, however, a relative freedom is rightly claimed for sincere error. Since there is no appeal against conscience as the subjective guide to conduct, it is classical moral teaching that a sincere but erroneous conscience should not be disobeyed, come what may. At the same time, we are bound to use every available means to exclude error from it.

The Catholic Church goes a great deal further than mere toleration of error as an act of individual charity. It teaches that respect for sincere conscience is a demand of justice, which may not rob a man of what is his own unless his exercise of it deprives others of their fundamental rights. These claims of our consciences are both personal and corporate, they belong to individuals and to groups; no authority, civil or religious, may force a sincere conscience.

Religious freedom then is an inherent right. It belongs to our nature as human. Since man is made in God's image, free will involves con-

science, and conscience, even when in error, is supreme because it is the means of his proper fulfillment and the guiding compass on his journey to God. Any restrictions therefore upon the rights of conscience, save those which safeguard the proper liberties of others, are contrary to God's will because contrary to the inherent nature of his rational creation.

■ The safeguarding of the proper liberties of other human beings in modern life presents both Church and world with complex problems—at home and abroad, in the field of international relations, in politics and in religion. The state has the primary right to judge when interference with human liberty is taking place and to restrain it, if necessary by force. The Church, and indeed religion in a wider sense, should be a source from which the state draws its moral judgments, but in the secularized world of today, where religion is isolated from society in general, this is becoming less and less the case. Yet, amid all this bewilderment, uncertainty and loss of standards and direction among serious and thinking people in every walk of life (and their number is increasing) we find a growing realization of, and sensitivity to, the supreme rights of conscience.

In the spiritual sphere, the *sensus fidelium*—the mind of the Church, and of divided Christendom too—is slowly moving towards the conviction that error in things spiritual can only be met by the spiritual weapon of truth in charity — the truth of the gospel of Christ in the spirit of Christ himself. Hostility and aloofness among Christian people in their separation is slowly be-

ginning to break down and is giving way to a growing desire for unity in Christ. Even in the field of political ideology, there are signs in the world around us that men and women are waking up to an effective realization that all men everywhere are brethren. We all belong to the human family, and error and misunderstanding among brethren are best met by the methods of peace and self-giving. We are learning the bitter lesson that modern war can accomplish nothing but destruction. Is it not possible to detect in these signs the beginnings of a movement which is bringing us round full circle to the Church's starting point and to a renewed realization of the fullness of the teaching of its Lord?

■ It will be of use at this point to sketch very briefly the progressive development down the centuries of sensitivity, in the *sensus fidelium*, to the supreme rights of conscience and of its embodiment in the teaching magisterium of the Church. It is not that any new theory of religious freedom has superseded an older one. The application of the principles changes with changing circumstances. The principles remain the same. The application may well be imperfect at times, yet the principles remain true. Originally it was taken for granted that deviation from the authoritative doctrine of the Church was heresy, a willful rebellion against the known truth. Force of historical circumstances has pressed upon the theologians, and through them upon the faithful at large, a far wider realization of the sincerity with which error can come to be held as truth. Here the sincerely erroneous conscience comes into play as a factor in doctrinal development.

This is well illustrated by the parallel case of the development of the doctrine *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*—no salvation outside the church. It was held as true and revealed doctrine, for instance, by St. Cyprian in the third century (not to mention the Apostles and other New Testament writers at an earlier date). It was St. Cyprian who first formulated the tradition in these terms. It is a matter of faith still to-day, though St. Cyprian's narrower interpretation of it would be, and indeed has recently been, condemned. The principles underlying this doctrine are applied in the current century to far wider spheres of impact than those they touched in the third.

■ Faith alone saves. St. Cyprian attributed good faith, and therefore "invincible" error, to none of the heretics or schismatics of his time. Who is to say that St. Peter and St. Paul differed from him. St. Paul at least took no lenient view of the sincerity of his Judaizing opponents. It was generally assumed in the early ages of the Church and indeed much later, that the pagan, the heretic and the unbeliever were equally damned. They were called infidels, persons without faith.

Historical circumstances, the fragmentation of Christendom by the Reformation schisms and the opening up of the new world initiated by explorers, missionaries and merchants from the fifteenth century onwards worked a change. The mind of the Church was enlarged by the realization that there are millions outside its visible boundaries who nevertheless can have saving faith. Such implicit faith depends upon a sincere though erroneous conscience. It is limited in its extension by many

differing factors. Yet it is capable of relating those who possess it to the vital Christ-life, which the Catholic Church, Christ's Mystical Body, mediates to mankind. In some sense all men are potential members of the Church.

A similar development can be observed in the matter of religious freedom. It was widely assumed also in the early Church, and throughout the dark and middle ages, that all error was heresy, a sinning against the light by obstinate and tenacious self-choosing. So much was this the case that the supremacy of conscience, though recognized as true, tended to be neglected in practice. Error was almost universally regarded as malicious.

This attitude persisted during the Reformation period so that persecution was common to both Protestant and Catholic. In a society wholly Catholic or wholly Protestant the idea that divergence from commonly held beliefs was destructive of the very fabric of that society, and therefore of the state, was universal. England and Spain are examples. England to-day has become pluralist in the religious background of its culture. The Catholic culture of Spain maintains itself even where religious practice is minimal. There, the traditional view that heresy is a crime keeps an almost unconscious hold and has not yet wholly given place to the impact of the new emphasis upon the supremacy of the sincerely erroneous conscience. That this emphasis is spreading and permeating the mind of the Church can hardly be doubted.

■ From the ecumenical point of view, however, it must be recognized that the churches that are heirs of

the Reformation schisms have unanimously rejected the belief that any one Church can ever claim a monopoly of the fullness of revelation. Nor can the Church as a whole possess an infallible criterion of its truth. This rejection is a corollary to the notion of the Church as a divisible and actually divided entity, a notion wholly foreign to historic Christendom. To reject infallibility is in fact to reject the certainty of faith-knowledge, and this leads to the contention that error has rights, in the sense that toleration of it is not only an act of justice towards sincere conscience but is a necessary recognition of it as an indispensable means, under God's providence, of arriving at truth. God, so it is contended, gives to human minds access to truth in terms of the struggle with error, and only in these terms.

It is difficult to see how this position can be maintained by non-Catholic theologians unless all dogmatic belief is to be eliminated by an extreme form of Lutheran fideism—reducing faith to sheer trust in Christ with a minimal intellectual content. Such a proposal would be all too congenial to the outlook of the liberal humanism which we have criticized earlier in this article. Our faith-knowledge is surely grounded in the gift of grace which enables us to recognize that God is speaking to us and giving us the share in his knowledge that we need, the truth which is the way to Him; we believe without doubting what He is saying to us.

For the Catholic, this word of God, His revelation, is mediated to us through Christ dwelling in his Church, and the Church interprets it for us without fear of error under the sure guidance of the Holy Spirit.

For the Protestant this word of God, His revelation, comes to him direct from the Scriptures without the mediation of the Church, at least in the sense in which Catholics understand it. But nevertheless, it *is* the word of God and he believes because God *is* speaking to him, and he *is* guided by the Holy Spirit; not, as we hold, through the divine society, the true Church, but at least in his own heart. Surely his belief in God's word is infallible, as we hold ours to be. He hears the word of God and keeps it because it *is* God's word and is recognized as such, in a way not different from ourselves. Though the scope of his faith, its extension, is not the same as ours, it contains at least the central truth of Christ's redeeming power.

■ Theology is not revelation. It is rational thinking about the data of revelation. It is the application of reason to those data in order to elucidate the mysteries of faith to aid the feebleness of human thinking. Theological thinking is as open to human error as any other thinking, and under God's providence it is often, though not of necessity, through error that truth is elucidated. To maintain that error is a necessary element in access to truth is like saying that sin is necessary to progress in holiness. The experience of sin and repentance can lead to a deeper love of God, as they did in Mary Magdalene; the experience gained by error can lead to truth. Neither however is necessary or even desirable in itself.

Theology presupposes faith and the infallible certainty of faith—the certainty that God is speaking. Its rational discourse is not faith itself, but about faith. It is an important

element in the penetration of the mind of the Church into the mysteries of faith and of their subsequent authoritative definition. In this way, their unfathomable mystery may be more easily entered into and spiritually apprehended as far as man's feeble powers will allow.

Our faith-knowledge then is infallibly known. It gives us a certainty that can transcend our doubts because it is not grounded on human reason but on God's word spoken in mind and heart. Since it is so known, it will not be called in question. Its meaning may be argued about and elucidated; it will not be denied, save when faith has disappeared. All our discussion, our theologizing, our rational scrutiny of the faith commits us, without intermission, to a rigorous loyalty to truth, a scrupulous regard for the canons of sound scholarship and a continuing effort to maintain the purity of truth. The Catholic Church does claim to possess "the fullness of revealed truth" and believes that at the ultimate stage its supreme authority is divinely safeguarded from ever betraying or denying that fullness.

That does not mean, however, that human thought, embodied in propositions, can ever exhaust or fully penetrate the mystery of faith, though it can, humanwise, protect it from corruption. Nor does it mean that, in the life of the Mystical Body,

prayer, worship and contemplation, together with the integrity of scholarship play a final part in the elucidation and guardianship of truth. That is the work of the teaching magisterium and is a work of judgment, for which the successors of the Apostles, in unity with St. Peter's successor, receive the grace of office.

■ Catholics would agree that freedom of expression and discussion in theological matters is the surest protection of truth, and that only in this way can justice be done to the universality of sin and of fallible human creatureliness. But we believe also that we can know and recognize God's word by faith in and through his Church. When that is known and recognized, rejection is the sin of disobedience to the known truth—a sin against the majesty of God. We can and should carry out at all times without fear the ideals of scholarship we have spoken of, in the confidence that revealed truth, which is faith-knowledge, and the truths of reason and critical research both have God for their source.

A thorough understanding of the Catholic view in these matters, coupled, on the Catholic side, with a sympathetic knowledge of non-Catholic thinking is the surest way to the unity in faith for which we all pray.

DOCUMENTATION

DISUNITED CHRISTIANS

Paul-Émile Cardinal Léger

■ The day before He died—after having instituted the Eucharist, the sacrament of unity—Jesus, our Saviour, offered up to His Father this prayer, which was also the testament of the love which He had for His own: “That all may be one, even as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee; that they also may be one in Us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me” (*John 11:21*). This last will of the Master has always been considered an obligation for His Church. At the very beginning of the Christian era, the brethren of the first Christian community at Jerusalem “were of one heart and one soul” (*Acts 4:32*). The apostle Paul urged that the early Christians be careful to preserve “the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,” and he taught them to avoid all discord and coteries because they were “one body and one Spirit, called in one hope of [their] calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in us all” (*Eph. 4:3-6*).

Unfortunately, from the very beginning, the sin of men introduced into the first communities ferments of disunity. The sad history of the separation of Christians is well known, especially the history of the schism between the East and the West in the eleventh century and that which shattered the unity

A pastoral letter to the Archdiocese of Montreal.

of Western Christianity in the 16th century, as well as the innumerable divisions which followed in the various Protestant churches.

The Church of Christ has never resigned herself to this state of things. She, and all Christians who set their heart upon following the will of the Lord, have constantly sought to heal the wounds caused by disunion.

■ I believe it would not be an exaggeration to say that concern for unity has become the major quality of contemporary Christianity. All are aware of the extraordinary extension of the ecumenical movement. In this respect, and just recently, two events of great importance took place: the Pan-Orthodox Conference of Rhodes in September, 1961, which gathered together the bishops of all the Orthodox churches of the Eastern rites; and, in November of last year, the general meeting of the World Council of Churches at New Delhi, which brought together delegates of the great majority of non-Catholic churches and, for the first time, five official Catholic observers. You will recall that, on November 14th, we recommended to your prayers this general assembly of the World Council of Churches.

A third event—this one concerns us more directly—has been in preparation for several years: the Second Vatican Council. This council has as its principal objective the internal renewal of the Church and, consequently, it aims to facilitate the reconciliation and reunion of Christians. The council, according to John XXIII, “will surely be a wonderful manifestation of truth, unity and charity; a manifestation, indeed, which we hope will be received by those who are separated from the Apostolic See as a gentle invitation to seek and find that unity for which Jesus Christ prayed so ardently to the heavenly Father” (*Ad Petri Cathedram*, June 29, 1959).

■ It is with great pleasure that We behold, in Our diocese, ■ strengthening of the ecumenical spirit. For the last several years, thanks to the apostolic zeal of the St. Paul Committee, the Church Unity Octave of prayer for unity has been more widely observed. There is more sympathy between the leaders of the various Christian religions, and it is with pleasure that we behold Catholic priests and Protestant clergymen gathering together more frequently for fraternal dialogue. The press and modern communications media, radio and television, have shown a great interest in the problems of Church unity and have given them wide diffusion.

Conscious of the importance of this movement, We feel it ■ duty of Our pastoral charge to give it the leadership which it needs. We invite you to reflect with Us upon this mystery of Church unity and the division of Christians, and We urge you to seek out with Us the ways which will help us all to continue, according to our abilities, in this great work of God.

THE UNITY AND DISUNITY OF CHRISTIANS

When we consider the population of the world, we are astonished to see, after nearly twenty centuries of Christianity, that barely one-third of humanity is Christian. In a world population of about three billion, there are only about one billion who are Christians. At first sight, this latter group might seem large, but

we find that, besides being limited almost entirely to the Western world, it is divided in three—Catholics (about 510 million), Orthodox (about 200 million) and Protestants (about 240 million). There are further divisions among the Christians of this latter group: Anglicans, Lutherans and Calvinists, without mentioning the many other Protestant groups which are less numerous.

■ The external disunity of the Christian world is, in itself, a manifestation of more profound differences of belief concerning the hierarchical government of the Church, divine worship and some essential points of doctrine. Though we believe firmly that the Roman Catholic Church is the only one which is “apostolic,” this is not the conviction of members of the Protestant or Orthodox faiths. Though the Orthodox share our belief in the episcopal structure of the Church of Christ, they refuse to grant to the Bishop of Rome the rights which are recognized as his in Catholic doctrine. As for the great majority of Protestants, they do not agree with us or with the Orthodox concerning the very structure of the Church of Christ. And yet, all claim to be followers of Christ and are proud to be called Christians.

■ By baptism, validly received, men are inserted into Christ and become one body with Him: “We too, all of us, have been baptized into a single body by the power of a single spirit” (1 Cor. 12:13). Moreover, the Council of Florence echoed this doctrine of Saint Paul when it declared that baptism “is the gateway to the spiritual life; by it, in fact, we become members of Christ and belong to the body of the Church.” (Council of Florence, *Decree to the Armenians*, Denzinger 696).

Grafted onto Christ, become one body with Him, Christians are members one of the other. But their unity must also be effected in the same belief, in the reception of the same sacraments and in the charity which unites all baptized Christians under the guidance of the same shepherds, united among themselves and with the one who continues the mission of Peter, who was the unifying element in the apostolic college.

■ And it is here that division occurs. If it is true that every serious sin introduces between the sinner and the body of Christ a ferment of disunity, there are some sins that go directly against unity—sins against the faith and against Church union. Thus, the one who voluntarily breaks away from the faith and from Church union places himself, with reference to Christ and his Church, in a state of violent separation. Even the one who is separated from the true Church through no fault of his own, finds himself involuntarily deprived of full communion with Christ. Herein lies the paradox and the tragedy of the situation—a tear in the seamless robe of Christ!

■ On the one hand, all Christians, by virtue of their baptism, are attached to Christ and His Church, for the baptismal character is indelible; on the other hand, because of divergence of belief and the breaking off of communion within the Church, they are deprived of the plenitude of the benefits which can be reaped only in complete unity. Deprived of unity, how can they avoid dispersion and error?

THE EVIL OF DISUNITY

Faced with such a situation, the Church cannot remain indifferent. Conscious of the expressed will of Christ, aware of the scandal which the disunity of Christians gives to the non-Christian world and of the evil which it brings to those who are separated from it, as well as to those who have remained within it, the Church feels the urgent need to do everything within her power to help heal this wound. For disunity is an evil.

It is an evil, first of all, for the separated brethren, who are no longer in full possession of the ordinary means of salvation. Even those who remain within the unity of the true Church cannot but suffer the consequences of the separation of their brethren. Doubtless, the body of Christ is not substantially affected by the division of Christians, but it remains none the less true that the Church, in its concrete life, is limited in the exercise of its role as witness of Christ. It is deprived of all that could be brought to it by that multitude of separated brethren who are sincerely desirous of serving God in spirit and in truth, according to their own manner of thinking, feeling and praying.

In the midst of the polemics which spring from disunity, the Church's theological thinking itself is often exposed to the danger of concentrating too exclusively on points which are questioned, thus stiffening its positions. In such a combination of circumstances, it will often take centuries to see the consequences of our disunity, to achieve a more balanced doctrinal presentation and to rediscover the values which have been left in the background.

■ But, for us, the most serious consequence of division is doubtless that the Catholic Church, our Mother, is, in the eyes of non-Christians, but one of the numerous Christian denominations, even though it be the most important numerically. Because Christians present to the world the sad spectacle of their division, the pagan world has not believed in Him whom the Father has sent, His Son Jesus Christ (cf. *John 17:21*).

THE ATTITUDE OF GOD'S PEOPLE TOWARD DISUNITY

The Church is constantly preoccupied and anxious about the reunion of divided Christianity. Though this responsibility lies especially upon the successor of Peter and all the bishops, it is none the less true that all the members of the Church are called to play an important and essential role in the search for full unity among Christians. But how are they to fulfill this role?

Internal Renewal

The first thing to be done concerns the life of the Church and each of its members. According to the view of Pope John XXIII, a return to unity of separated Christians is linked to the internal renewal of the Catholic Church—a renewal which he has described in his encyclical *Ad Petri Cathedram* as “a development of Catholic faith, a moral renewal of the Christian life of the faithful, an adaptation of ecclesiastical discipline to the needs and methods of our time.” This, according to the Holy Father, is the way to restore to the face of the

Church all its splendor and to open to our separated brethren the avenues of reconciliation and return (Address to the Catholic Action Presidents of Italy, 1959).

Each one of us must draw upon the gospel and make it the inspiration of our whole life. Our life must truly be the mirror of the charity of Christ; it must be filled with love for God and men, our brothers, on the individual and family level, as well as on a social and international level. Our Christian life must be nourished by the purest fountains—the Word of God and the liturgy. Let us make our lives honest, loyal, virtuous and devoted. Let our lives be centered upon the essential realities of our faith and not upon peripheral devotions. In a word, let us ask God to transform us, as individuals and members of the Church, into Christ Jesus, the bright image of the Father.

■ If this renewal is to be effected in reality, it is necessary that it be based upon harmoniously balanced doctrine and rooted in the Word of God, the tradition of the fathers and the life of God's people, as interpreted by the Church—which is the guardian of truth. Thus, our faith should be essentially centered upon the mystery of salvation, that mystery which was hidden from past centuries and fulfilled in Christ Jesus (cf. *Rom. 16:25-26*).

Our faith, it is true, demands adhesion to a certain number of dogmas, but we must not forget that Christian faith is above all a way of life, a living contact with the Lord. In fact, do not the dogmas themselves express vital realities?

This is the doctrine that must be presented by those who have been called by the bishops to share in their apostolic mission. And all the faithful must align their faith with these perspectives.

■ Let us not allow our faith to dwell exclusively upon aspects of belief which appeal to religious emotionalism, but let us seek, above all, to attain its central objective—the manifestation of the love of God for sinners in the death and resurrection of His Son. Placed in such perspective, even the dogmas which our separated brethren do not share with us, such as those concerning the privileges of Mary or the successor of Peter, might cease to be an obstacle to the reconciliation of separated Christians.

Charity and Ecumenical Dialogue

If he wish to share in effecting the reunion of the members of Christ's body places upon the Catholic an obligation to renew his life and to reach a better understanding of doctrine, it also requires that he come into contact with his separated brethren. No Christian who is animated by the charity of Christ can look upon his separated brethren as strangers or enemies. He must avoid all that can hurt them and widen the trench which separates us. He must rid himself of historical and psychological prejudices. He must seek, in every way, to love his separated brethren as brothers in Christ.

■ On the other hand, Catholic theologians must, under the vigilance of their bishops, seek to establish a dialogue with the theologians of other Christian religions. The purpose of this dialogue is not to win arguments or to convert. Those who undertake such conversations seek, in mutual understanding, to

discover the positive insights in the belief of their brethren. Evidently, there can be no question of promoting indifferentism or false irenics. Rather, by being as objective as possible, we seek to understand the position of the other from the inside, in order to comply with his legitimate claims. If we have such a reverent attitude, we shall then be in a position to expect the same dispositions from our brethren, and we shall be able to present to them our own position—with the assurance that it will be received in the same spirit. Veritable dialogue consists in listening, and being listened to, with a will to narrow the gap and, if possible, to reach an identity of views.

Prayer for Unity

Concern about unity brings to mind the necessity of the renewal of Christian life and of ecumenical dialogue. We must not forget, however, that the unity of Christians will be brought about not by human effort but by the power of God.

We know that all we ask the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ will certainly be granted to us, if it be in conformity with the eternal plan of God. Now, is there in the gospel a clearer expression of the will of God than his desire for the unity of all the disciples of Christ? It is Jesus himself who tells us of this desire in his prayer to the Father at the beginning of his sacred Passion (cf. *John 11:21*). Prayer is, therefore, the principal and the most efficacious means to obtain from the Father the grace of unity.

■ But, if this prayer is to be answered, it must have certain qualities. It must be a prolongation of the very prayer of Christ. It must associate itself completely with that prayer and come, as it were, from the very depths of the Heart of Jesus. All our human ambitions must be cast aside, and our prayer must blend with the intentions of the Lord, whose ultimate objective is the unity of all Christians in one Church, in some mysterious way which we do not yet understand.

Our prayer, filled with joyous hope—because we know with certitude that the Father will grant it one day—must also be humble and patient. On the human level, unity seems to be extremely difficult and remote. All impatience can only foster undue precipitation, which leads to bitter disillusionment.

■ Finally, besides being rooted in a great love of Christ and of our separated brethren, our prayer must be animated by repentance and sorrow. For we are all responsible for the disunity of Christians. As suggested by His Holiness, Pope John XXIII, it is not for us to make an historical investigation into these divisions, nor to try to find out “who was wrong” or “who was right.” We all share in the responsibility (Address of Pope John XXIII to the Pastors of Rome, January 29, 1959).

The Church Unity Octave

Though we join with the Church in Christ's prayer for unity every day at the canon of the Mass, there is a period of the year when we have occasion to pray for that intention with particular intensity and in union with all who invoke the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This period is known as the Church Unity Octave. It is observed from January 18th to January 25th.

■ Thus, during these days, the prayers of the whole world will converge on the way to the Father, asking Him to bring about, according to His will and by whatever means He wants, His eternal plan of unity. This year, moreover, we have a very special reason to join in this concerted universal supplication. For we are at the threshold of a council, one of whose principal objectives is to foster Christian reunion. To encourage the faithful and the clergy of Our diocese in their zeal for this cause, We have deemed it opportune to command that the votive Mass *Pro Unitate Ecclesiae* be celebrated as the principal Mass on Sunday, January 21, and that the prayer of this same votive Mass be recited as the *oratio imperata*, from January 18th to January 25th.

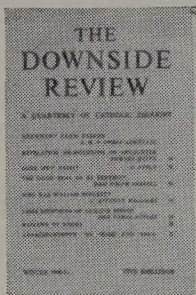
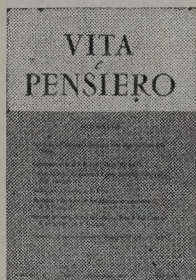
■ Besides joining in these liturgical prayers, all the faithful of the diocese should make every effort to pray individually and collectively for unity. Let there be organized in the churches, oratories and chapels, in the institutions of the diocese, a veritable campaign of prayer for unity. Let us often repeat with great fervor, during the octave, the prayer which the priest addresses to Jesus, the fountain of unity, a few moments before receiving His body in Holy Communion: "Lord Jesus Christ, who has said to your apostles: My peace I give you, My peace I leave unto you; do not look upon my sins, but on the faith of Thy Church, and graciously give her peace and unity in accordance with Thy will."

Given at Our episcopal residence, this 13th day of January, 1962, on the feast of the Baptism of Our Lord Jesus Christ, under Our hand and seal, and the countersignature of Our chancellor.

PAUL-ÉMILE CARDINAL LÉGER
Archbishop of Montreal

PIERRE LAFORTUNE
Chancellor

IN THE MIND'S EYE



■ **DOWNSIDE REVIEW** (*Stratton on the Fosse, Bath, England*) "Progress in the Liturgy," by Lancelot C. Sheppard, January, 1962, pp. 41-54.

In this sketch of the progress of the liturgical movement, the writer makes the point that the full-scale reform which is now taking place and which bears a close connection to modern biblical and patristic movements "is an admission that the liturgy has become ill-adapted to its purpose." Our present-day liturgy "has developed from simple forms into a complex ritual out of contact with the development of ideas of the last ten centuries or more."

As a result, ritual and gestures have lost "a great part of their significance." The gulf between public and personal prayer has widened. All too often "the authenticity of rite and symbol has been so largely lost that lengthy explanations are required" to show their meaning and relevance. Indeed, a number of practices "which have rubrical sanction spring from a misunderstanding of the nature of liturgy."

In the matter of liturgical language, we need first to realize that "public worship is not just a series of ritualistic practices; we need, it seems, a changed mentality."

■ **BLACKFRIARS** (2 Serjeants' Inn, London, E.C. 4) "The Church in North America," by Illtud Evans, O.P., February, 1962, pp. 86-92.

Though the statistics are formidable and prove vitality as well as astounding generosity, it is unfortunate, the writer feels, that too many foreign visitors "remain at this superficial level of judgment" when they examine the American Catholic Church.

At first, U. S. Catholics were "readily dismissed by New England intellectuals as a lesser breed." However, such men as Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland helped prepare the ground for the Church as the Church of America. While it is hard to assess its spiritual strength, the visitor gets an "impression of robust and uninhibited faith and of a degree of actual religious practice that has surely no parallel in recent European experience." One has only to look at the number of vocations and the vigor of the lay retreat movement.

Yet piety is still largely individualistic in emphasis. Apparently the "liturgical advances of the last few years have had little effect on Catholic life."

The Church's hope lies in the "growing maturity of its laity not restricted to a passive conformity."

Louis Bouyer

reveals the inner meaning of Mary's place in the Bible and in Catholic theology, in his new book

THE SEAT OF WISDOM

Father Bouyer deals with the miracle of the Immaculate Conception, and with the sacredness of married life — specifically with the spiritual side of sexual union — in this important contribution to Marian theology.

\$3.75, now at your bookstore



PANTHEON

MATER ET MAGISTRA

(Christianity and Social Progress)

By Pope John XXIII

Place Your
Order Now

Single copy 50¢
12 for \$5

— Fill in, clip and mail —

The America Press, 920 Broadway, N. Y. 10, N. Y.

Please send me.....copies of MATER ET MAGISTRA.

Name

Address

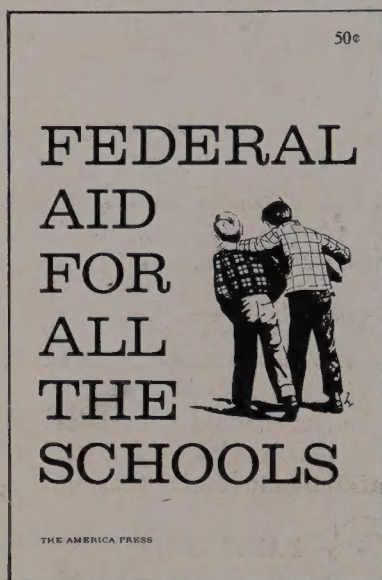
City..... Zone..... State.....

☐ Payment enclosed

☐ Bill me

(Please send remittance with orders under \$3.00)

Announcing...



FEDERAL AID FOR ALL THE SCHOOLS

A thoughtful symposium of articles by legal authorities on various facets involved in the question of Federal aid to education, including: Right to Educate... The State and Education... Only Higher Education, Mr. President? . . . What Is the Real Issue? . . . Thoughtful Opinions... Politics and Constitutional Law... How To Talk About Federal

Aid... How To Spend Our Taxes? . . . Church and President... Where We Go From Here. The booklet also includes discussion questions and a bibliography.

(C-71) 50¢ each

THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

One hundred pages of compact information about the implications of the coming Council in the framework of past, present and future history of the Church. With discussion questions and bibliography *(C-72) 50¢ each*

ORDER YOUR SUPPLY TODAY

THE AMERICA PRESS • 920 Broadway • New York 10, N.Y.

GESU SCHOOL LIBRARY
17138 QUINCY
DETROIT 21 MICH
47266 CX-WD 5-62